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College and School News

Shaw University summer school graduated 53 persons, principally in-service teachers, on August 22.

The General Baptist Convention has launched a campaign for $15,000 for Baptist Headquarters and improved facilities in the Religious Education program of Shaw University. The old Leonard building is to be renovated for this double purpose.

Five members of the faculty of **Tuskegee Institute** are taking a six-week course at the Teachers Work Shop, Northwestern University. They are: Mrs. J. P. Guzman, Dean of Women; Rev. H. V. Richardson, chaplain; Albert Murray of the English Division; J. E. Fuller and C. G. Gomillion. Miss Evanell Renfroe, School of Home Economics, is studying Community Nutrition at the University of Chicago.

Rudolph Moses, acting dean in charge at **Dillard University** for the past year, has been appointed dean of the college. He has also been elevated in rank from associate professor of English to professor. He will continue as head of the division of literature and the fine arts.

The work in horticulture at Dillard, inaugurated in 1938, will be offered on a twelve-month basis, beginning in September.

The new business manager is Frank B. Adair of Pine Bluff, Ark., who during the past year studied institutional management at the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University.

The Fifteenth National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers and the 38th convention of the American Teachers Association were held during the week of July 27 at **West Virginia State College**, with 400 delegates registering for the A.T.A. on the first day, July 31.

"Dark Symphony," prize winning poem by Prof. M. B. Tolson of **Wiley College** for the Chicago Negro Exposition will appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September. It is also being

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Nearly 1,000 students attended the **Atlanta University** Summer School which closed its six-week session on July 18.

Howard University Summer School, with 840 students, had the largest enrollment in its fourteen-year history. Of this number 290 were enrolled in national defense classes sponsored by the School of Architecture and Engineering under direction of the U. S. Office of Education. Fifty per cent of these defense students were white.

Dr. Paul B. Cornely, associate professor of Preventive Medicine and Public Health at Howard University Medical School, has been appointed to the Medical Advisory Council of the Selective Service System. He is a University of Michigan alumnus.

The School of Religion is offering scholarships ranging from $80 to $125 for the school year 1941–42, to college graduates who desire to enter upon the study of religion. Tuition fees are waived for all accepted applicants. The size of the scholarships will depend upon the need and academic record of each applicant. Contact dean, Dr. William S. Nelson.

In mid-July **Hampton Institute** began its summer Civilian Pilot Training Program with 12 undergraduates enrolled.

The unique new technicolor educational film, "Hampton Institute—Its Program of 'Education for Life'" was given its premiere in the home of President and Mrs. Roosevelt at Hyde Park, N. Y. on July 17. It is a 45-minute film story of how this college serves America. Afterward it went on summer tour throughout the East. Copies of the film may be obtained for private showing. Write to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

Enrollment at Hampton will hereafter be limited to those entering students who show definite "talents" in some specific field. The first semester begins September 24. Study and work plan students arrive on September 15; other new students on September 17, and old students on September 22.

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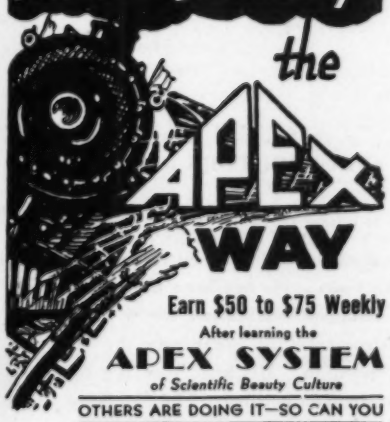

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Because he proved himself so efficient on a rush job last May, N. Milton Hill of Washington, D. C., a 1941 Hampton graduate of the Printing Department, has gained the distinction of being the first Negro linotype operator ever to be hired to the permanent staff of the Gloucester (Va.) Gazette-Journal, and will work with five white employees.

135th Street Library In Harlem Closed

Construction work on the 135th Street Branch of The New York Public Library has progressed to the point at which active functioning of the present library building is temporarily impossible. On July 14 the building was closed for circulation and reference, and will remain closed until alterations are completed.

The Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature closed July 1. Its temporary quarters will be opened in the Harlem Branch Library building, 9 West 124th Street, August 15. The enlarged building will house the Library's greatly increased collection of books, and will provide exhibition, lecture, and conference rooms for its many community activities.

Weaver Named to Labor Supply Board

Sidney Hillman, Associate Director General of OPM, gave emphasis to the drive for Negro employment in defense industries July 10 by announcing that Dr. Robert C. Weaver has been appointed one of the twelve officials of governmental agencies who comprise the newly-created Labor Supply Branch of the Labor Division of the Office of Production Management.

At the same time, Negroes were given representation on the Regional Labor Supply Committees just established by Mr. Hillman, and members of Dr. Weaver's staff in the Negro Employment and Training Branch of OPM are being assigned to regional offices of the committees in New York City, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Washington, D. C.; Cleveland, O.; Chicago, Ill.; Birmingham, Ala.; Kansas City, Mo.; San Antonio, Texas; and San Francisco, Cal.

Sunset in Dixie

The sun
Is gonna go down
In Dixie
Some of these days
With such a splash
That everybody who ever knew
What yesterday was
Is gonna forget—
When that sun
Goes down in Dixie.

—LANGSTON HUGHES

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Volume 48, No. 9 *Whole No. 369*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

There will be an article by Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, curator of the Schomburg Collection of the New York public library entitled, "Meet Haiti's New President." Dr. Reddick has recently returned from a visit to Haiti where he attended the inauguration of President Lescot.

There will also appear the first article in a series of three by Harold Preece who is well known to Crisis readers.

CONTRIBUTORS

Louis E. Martin is editor of the Michigan Chronicle.

Howard E. Coles lives in Rochester, New York, where he is the editor of *The Voice*. He has been chairman of the annual Frederick Douglass celebration for a number of years and was instrumental in organizing the Douglass Foundation and Exposition. His history of the Negro in New York state and Canada entitled, "The Cradle of Freedom" will be published this month.

John Henrik Clarke lives in New York. He has been a frequent contributor to The Crisis.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
Advisory Board: Lewis Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allen Neilson, Walter White, Carl Murphy, John Hammond

The Army Must Act

IF the government expects any support from Negro public opinion in the future it must insist that the War Department take positive action to bring to trial all the persons responsible for the incident at Fort Bragg, N. C., on August 6 in which a Negro private and a white military policeman were killed in a fight on a bus.

In a sense, this Fort Bragg incident is the acid test of the Army and Negroes. The first test came last spring in the lynching of Private Felix Hall who was found hanging from a tree within the borders of Fort Benning, Ga. In that matter —one of intense interest to all Negro Americans—the Army so far has announced merely that it is conducting an investigation.

But at Fort Bragg, the situation is different. The killings were the direct result of the Army policy of segregating and humiliating Negro soldiers and then placing military police duty over them largely in the hands of ignorant, prejudiced, white southern soldiers. Every visitor to Negro troops in southern camps has made the identical report that the chief complaint of colored soldiers has been against the attitude and actions of these military police. To give a certain type of white man a club and a gun and back him up with the authority of the U. S. Army is like appointing Julius Streicher to police a Jewish concentration camp in Germany.

Information gathered by white and Negro newspaper reporters at Fort Bragg shows that Negro soldiers, including one commissioned officer and several non-commissioned officers, were rounded up, humiliated, cursed, beaten, and threatened with cocked pistols and shotguns by white military police. The soldiers they arrested and beat up were not involved in any way in the shooting, were not on the bus in question, were not even in the vicinity of the shooting, and knew nothing whatever about it.

The whole incident resembles exactly the aftermath of an alleged crime by a Negro in any southern community. A reign of terror is instituted in which any colored person, man, woman, or child, is subject to raiding and punishment by any white person.

At Fort Bragg all Army discipline was thrown to the winds. In a minute the Negro soldiers became "just Negroes" subject to the whims of any white man. It will be useless for the Army to try to dodge responsibility for this affair. *The white military police would not have beaten up scores of Negro soldiers, would not have interfered with Negro civilians in towns away from Army posts, and would not have staged a "lynching roundup" after the Fort Bragg double killing if their commanding officers had not approved such action.*

The chief villain in this piece is the officer in charge of military police. The next is the commander of the colored troops at Ft. Bragg, and the next is the commandant of the whole post. The poor white boys who do the beating and shooting are merely instruments of a policy maintained by these men and the War Department.

We shall see what we shall see. Negro Americans might as well discover at the beginning whether they are to fight and die for democracy for the Lithuanians, the Greeks, and the Brazilians, or whether they had better fight and die for a little democracy for themselves. The City of Houston, Tex., forced this momentous decision upon some men of the 24th Infantry during the last World War, and there is not a Negro in America who does not honor those martyrs for choosing to fight the enemy in Texas rather than the enemy in Prussia.

It is no threat and no incitement to riot, but merely a statement of obvious fact, to say that the responsibility for avoiding another Houston affair is squarely up to the War Department.

A Valiant Fighter

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, to whom a section of this issue is dedicated as a memorial, had a long, busy and crusading life. He had many outstanding characteristics. His widow has named his "compassion for all who live and suffer." To us it seemed always that Charles Edward Russell was the valiant fighter. He had not only the compassion for humanity, or the passion for justice, or the fidelity to ideals, or the merciless honesty in opinion, but the will to fight, to crusade, endlessly, uncompromisingly, relentlessly.

The masses of Negroes will never know what this man did for them, both directly, and in his work for the kind of world in which they and all other downtrodden peoples could hold up their heads. For he never, even in closed and unpublicized councils, "sold them out." On many an occasion he has been that strange phenomenon: A white man on a committee of Negroes and whites who is more insistent on justice than the Negroes themselves. In the N.A.A.C.P., as a member of the Board of Directors, he never "cut a corner" on an issue involving principle. The records will show frequent lone dissenting votes on policy by Russell.

His pet campaign within the N.A.A.C.P. was against what he termed the slanderous and poisonous propaganda against the Negro in school textbooks, surveys, historical novels, memoirs, treatises, "scientific" journals, newspapers, and magazines. He maintained that the Association could not expect great progress toward its objectives as long as white public opinion was polluted by propaganda begun in the cradle. The greatest monument that could be erected to his memory would be the establishment of a department of the N.A.A.C.P. to do research and busy itself with intelligent, sustained, factual counter-propaganda.

Charles Edward Russell was a great humanitarian—in the true sense of the word—whose life work was made doubly effective because he was also a vigorous fighter.

Facts About Jobs

IT ought to be apparent to all that the task of getting a fair share of jobs for Negro workers in the national defense program is going to require hard work and the cooperation of all agencies interested in or charged with placement.

No one should know better than the Negroes attached to government bureaus that most employers will have to be educated, persuaded, or forced (under the President's order) to hire Negro workers. Every excuse and trick will be used to avoid employing colored men. For that reason, Negro administrative assistants should welcome the aid of independent Negro agencies in attacking the problem. The Negro government man has work to do and a job to hold. The government itself (like most white people) would rather hear that the situation is getting better; it would like a moratorium on annoying racial mal-adjustments.

But the feelings of the government or the well-being of a colored government employee are of considerably lesser importance than the actual securing of employment—not a few arranged "token" jobs—by great numbers of trained Negro workers. And in this task the independent agencies can render effective service by checking upon the understandable tendency toward optimism by the government, and upon the subterfuges of employers.

Charles Edward Russell

Memorial to a Fighting Liberal

WHEN Dr. Charles Edward Russell died at his home in Washington, D. C., April 23, 1941, the underprivileged groups all over the world lost a fighting champion. He was an active crusader in many causes, but his work for the Negro through the NAACP and The Crisis was so vigorous and uncompromising right up to the hour of death that this memorial issue is dedicated to him.

Author of some 35 books on poetry, economics and biography, one of which won him a Pulitzer Prize in 1927, Russell had just completed another—a biography of his father, Edward Russell, the noted abolitionist.

Russell did not go unhonored for his many good works as a humanitarian. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday last September 26, he was given a testimonial dinner by the Inter-Racial Committee. Colored and white, Protestant, Catholic and Jew joined in paying him tributes which, in his own word, left him "overwhelmed."

Gifted "Muckraker"

In his four score of years, Russell fought for Irish freedom, for the Jews in Palestine, for the adjustment of colored people, for women suffrage, for the abolition of capital punishment, and for a good many other causes.

"Besides the freedom of Ireland," he said a few years ago, "the only cause I've fought for that has actually won out is women's suffrage. But those other things will come in time."

He turned from a highly successful newspaper career in 1903 to join the "muckrakers," the coterie of journalists who for more than a decade exposed political, economic and social corruption wherever they could find it.

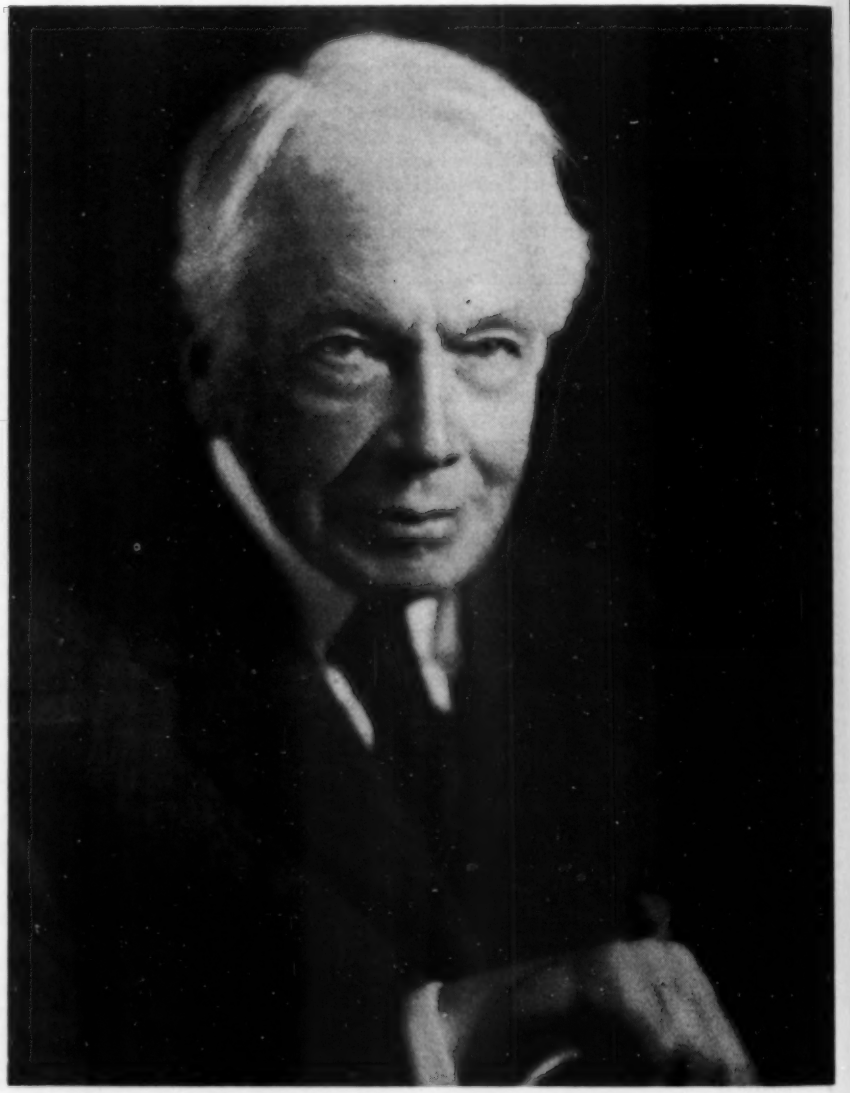
The others were Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Ray Stannard Baker, David Graham Phillips, Thomas W. Lawson and John L. Matthews. Whereas, Steffens specialized in municipal corruption and Miss Tarbell in oil companies, Russell went after the big corporations. Steffens in his biography, wrote of Russell:

"He was one of the most earnest, emotional, and gifted of the 'muckrakers.'"

Native of Iowa

He was born in Davenport, Iowa, September 25, 1860, the son of Edward Russell, crusading publisher of the Davenport Gazette. He was graduated from the St. Johnsbury (Vt.) Academy in 1881.

It was in 1880, while he was working as a cub on his father's paper, that Russell first became interested in Ireland. To Davenport had come Charles Stewart Parnell, the "uncrowned King of Ireland," to raise funds for the victims of Ireland's terrible potato famine, and also to plead the cause of Irish freedom.



LAST PHOTOGRAPH OF CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

"That was my first contact with Ireland and its problems," Russell told a reporter three years ago. "In the years that followed I never lost interest."

Russell was covering Ireland at the time of the Easter Rebellion in 1916; he greeted Eamon de Valera when the Irish leader came to the United States after a breath-taking escape from prison; he was the only journalist to talk to de Valera in hiding in the dark days of '23. So earnestly did Russell fight for the Irish cause in the United

States that when, in 1926, he tried to enter England, he was barred from landing at Plymouth.

Italy also barred him because of his written attacks on Mussolini.

Russell's newspaper career took him from the Davenport Gazette to the Minneapolis Tribune. He later became managing editor of the Minneapolis Evening Journal. After a brief period as managing editor of the Detroit Tribune, he joined the staff of the New York Commercial Advertiser. Next he served on the Times, World, and Herald. As a reporter on Bennett's Herald, he covered the great Johnstown Flood of 1889.

He was publisher of the two Hearst papers in Chicago, the American and the Examiner, when his health broke in 1902. A year later he entered the magazine field and started his career as a muckraker.

Russell became a Socialist in 1908, being one of the first of his group to make the transition from literary radicalism to political radicalism. He was the Socialist candidate for Governor of New York in 1910 and 1912, for Mayor of New York in 1913, and for United States Senator in 1914. He was nominated by his party for President of the United States in 1916, but refused to run.

A year later he was expelled from the party for advocating entry of the United States into the World War, which his party vigorously opposed. In 1936, however, when the party split into right and left wings, the rightists invited him to affiliate once more. He did so and became head of the right wing Socialist group in this city.

Friend of Wilson

He was a personal friend of President Woodrow Wilson. After his expulsion from the Socialist Party, he was appointed by Wilson to a diplomatic mission under Elihu Root which went to Russia after the overthrow of the Czar to pay this country's respects to Kerensky and other revolutionary leaders. In 1918 the President sent him to London as commissioner to Great Britain on the committee on public information. And in 1919 he was a member of the President's industrial commission.

The Eulogy

Address delivered at the funeral service of Charles Edward Russell on April 26, 1941 by the Rev. Dr. Halley B. Taylor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.:

As one finds himself speechless, when first he beholds the grandeur of a majestic, awe-inspiring mountain, bathed in sunlight; or when he listens to the soul entrancing strains of immortal music, and can only say, over and over again, "It is wonderful—it is wonderful" —even so, do I find myself at a loss for fitting words to use in speaking of our friend and brother, Charles Edward Russell, who has just been called from his prodigious earthly labors to his eternal heavenly reward.

Having served as his vice-chairman on the Inter-Racial Committee of the District of Columbia, from its organization; and having enjoyed the gracious hospitality of his home; and having had him as a frequent worshipper in the church, which it is my privilege to serve, I embraced the opportunities, thus afforded me, for studying this man among men, with the hope that I might ascertain, and be led to espouse, the salutary virtues which, undeniably, had guided him up to the plane of true greatness.

My study of him was not unfruitful; for it enabled me to discover some of the reasons why he had succeeded in winning the friendship and respect of the honorable leaders of men—both at home and abroad.

In mentioning, on this occasion—for our own edification and encouragement —some of the virtues which shone resplendently in him—I would begin by saying:

That the unstudied humility and modesty of the man were nothing short of amazing.

The personal friend and confidant of world-renowned Irish patriots, Jewish leaders and Negro liberators; the ideal man of the idealistic Socialist Party; the trusted counsellor of exploited workers; the dependable friend of the victims of miscarried justice; the man whose travels in many lands had broadened his vision and enriched his wisdom; and whose journalistic achievements and literary excellencies—as an author—had brought him recognition, as a creative writer, and the coveted Pulitzer Prize; this man never deliberately—in a boastful way—offered to his admiring friends, one single sentence concerning the glorious role which he had played in life—or the rare honors that had been bestowed upon him by his fellowmen. His modesty and humility, I say, were nothing short of amazing.

His genuine, fault-discounting love for his sincere co-workers, always engendered in their hearts, a self-forgetting love for him that bordered on reverence. He graciously refrained from censure and seemed to be altogether oblivious to their apparent short-comings. His smile of approval of a duty well performed, was the hoped-for and satisfying reward of his fellow-laborers.

When disappointed, by the appearance of vacillation, on the part of his co-laborers, or the seeming ineffectiveness of their joint efforts, he exhibited an almost unbelievable patience, which revealed, in the final analysis, his absolute confidence in the ultimate triumph of the causes to which he had dedicated his life and all his powers.

His hatred of hypocrisy and sham was, perhaps, more intense and abiding than was his hatred of the open injustice and oppression, to which men are subjected by their fellowmen, whose minds and hearts are beclouded and dominated by gross moral ignorance and primitive race, color, class and religious prejudices. In his sight, the hypocrite was always—as described by Jesus—like a whited

"Compassion for all that live and suffer"

In a letter to the Editor of The Crisis, Mrs. Theresa H. Russell writes:

"The provisions of Charles Edward's will are endorsement of the tremendous earnestness of his urge to achieve justice for an oppressed racial minority. Perhaps a few words of recollection about the inception of the N.A.A.C.P. may be pertinent.

"I have heard my husband state more than once that this was as follows: William English Walling had just returned from Springfield, Illinois, where he had witnessed and reported the intolerable race riots of which colored persons were the victims. Walking on Fifth avenue to Charles Edward's hotel he recounted these insufferable incidents. My husband voiced his own indignation in vigorous terms. Mr. Walling said, 'If you feel the same as I do about these things, Russell, that makes two of us. If there are two there are probably more than that. We can and must do something about it.'

"The first meetings of the organization that resulted in the now powerful N.A.A.C.P. were held in the Walling apartment. Mrs. Walling could probably verify this and add to the recollections, also Miss Ovington who was one of the charter members. . . .

"Dr. Taylor in his eulogy at the funeral services referred to Charles Edward's modesty and absence of any sense of personal importance as his outstanding attribute. I think that tribute is deserved, but if I, who knew him well, were to be asked what I regarded as his one most marked quality of spirit I should call it *compassion*, for all that live and suffer."

sepulchre—beautiful without—but within, indescribably foul and repulsive.

His zeal in the promotion of the weal of his fellowmen—so that all might enjoy the more abundant life, which God has made possible for all His children—was intense, non-discriminating and indefatigable.

On the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of Dr. Russell's birthday, his friends—who represented a cross-section of upward-struggling humanity—tendered him a beautiful testimonial banquet; and of those who paid him glowing tributes—richly deserved—there was one who said, in his hearing:

"Monuments have been raised for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of patriots who fought for Ireland's freedom; buildings have been erected to preserve the remembrance of some who have arduously labored to bring in the day of common justice for the Jews; tablets have been placed to keep green the memory of some who have battled to overcome life-restricting prejudice against the Negro; and in song and story have been enshrined, the names of men and women who have dared to champion the cause of inarticulate groups, who suffer under unnecessary and unjustifiable social and economic burdens; but we are endeavoring to do honor tonight, to a man who has achieved distinction, not in one of these praiseworthy undertakings, but in all of them.

"He is hailed by the Irish, as one of their most gallant warriors; he is regarded by the Negroes, who know him, as the incarnation of the spirit of emancipation; the Jews honor and reverence him, as one whose heart is aflame with the love and zeal of their ancient prophets; and men in distress, without regard for race, color, creed or condition, turn their eyes to him as their friend and knightly defender."

And in concluding, the speaker said: "Now, according to the principle laid down by Jesus, Who said, 'Let him that would be chiefest among you, be the servant of all'—we are warranted in regarding our great humanitarian—Dr. Russell—as one of the greatest of the sons of men in our world of today."

This was one of the many tributes to which Dr. Russell listened, while he was yet in the flesh.

Because of his profound respect for all men—for the reason that they bear the spiritual image of our Father—God—Dr. Russell was an unrelenting foe to capital punishment. With all the strength of his soul, he unreservedly condemned society's taking from any man the precious gift of life—the gift which is bestowed by God Alone.

And because of his marvelous love for every living creature, in his Father's world, this spiritual nobleman used all his varied powers to bring to an end the practice of vivisection. His heart rose in rebellion against the mutilation of helpless animals that had learned to put their trust in the stroking, caressing hands of men.

Charles Edward Russell and Mary White Ovington at the 1940 Conference at Philadelphia, Pa.

While we may, as a rule, remember our friend as a knight in shining armour, who was in his glory when waging a truceless warfare against the powers of wickedness: we should not forget that he was a passionate lover of the good, the beautiful and the true; and that artistic excellence would lift his soul to the heights of poetic expression.

After hearing Marian Anderson sing Schubert's "Ave Maria" from the Lincoln Memorial, this lover of beauty wrote and sent to her these song-inspired lines:

Singing there is of evening star to star,
  Infallibly to listening spirits known:
And singing when to trumpets softly blown
  The sun wheels up its gold and crimson car:
And singing when on whitened peaks afar
  The glory of his parting glance has shown:
And singing when with solemn undertone
  The seas curl down upon the harbor bar.
All these you compass, singer strangely gifted,
  And more—a certain spell on one that hears,
Something that shows him ways and lights uplifted
  And routs the specters of old doubts and fears,
I know—I saw the vault celestial rifted
  And there—the face of Mercy—dewed with tears.

In the last stanza of this song, our friend unmistakably voices his joyous reaffirmation of simple, triumphant faith in life immortal beyond the grave.

Many of us who loved and trusted him are saying today, with sorrowful voices: "We have lost a great leader."

Not so—because we lose a leader only when one, whom we follow, deserts us and does violence to the cause that is dear to our hearts.

Our Country lost a leader in Benedict Arnold, when he betrayed our cause; but we have never lost the leadership of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln: 'tis true they sleep; but their spirits lead us on. And by the same token, we have not lost our leader—Charles Edward Russell—for while 'tis true that he has fallen on sleep, his spirit will continue to fire our souls and urge us ever forward.

In the days and years to come, we shall always be inspired by his leadership, if we but remember him as he appeared—borne down by the weight of years—on January 26th, of this year, when he delivered his stirring, and what proved to be, his valedictory address, in which he shouted the ringing appeal:

"Come with us then: join hands and march forward. We consecrate ourselves anew to this great task. Come with us and we will not turn back, nor desist, until we have made this country truly a democracy, until democracy here shall be no longer a phrase, or a hope, but a realized fact, until equality shall be a truth and not a dream, until we have taken this foul blot from the flag of our love, until it can float clean in the sunlight, and be fit to lead the world's restoration and advance."

The spiritual Charles Edward Russell who issued this challenging appeal—through the medium of his frail physical body—is immortal,—he still lives and leads.

From the life that this true nobleman lived, we should learn that:—

True greatness is determined not by a man's intellectuality, powerful friends or material wealth, but by the God-likeness of his soul;

Real love of country will lead us to fight against unrighteousness even though enthroned;

Warfare is to be regarded as abominable, and that it is one of our prime duties to labor to the end that men everywhere might enjoy the blessings of peace;

The responsibility ever rests upon the

NAACP BENEFICIARY

Charles Edward Russell willed his estate of $70,000 to his wife and son, and directed that upon their death and upon the death of one Christine Rutledge, one half of the trust estate and accumulations be paid over to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The will further provided that under certain conditions therein specified the remainder of the estate will be paid over to the Association.

strong to bear the infirmities of the weak;

Loyal friends are to be more highly prized than rubies and pearls;

The loftiest point of human development is attained only when we can look upon all the sons of men and greet them, from our hearts as brothers;

We must play well our parts in life for, as one has said: "The most calamitous end to which a man can come, is to pass out of life and not be missed;"

Home life can be made heaven-like, and that the benign blessings of love—bestowed and received—can be enjoyed here and now;

Simple trust in God, enables men to stand like Mount Zion, unmoved by the floods, earthquakes and storms of life.

Charles Edward Russell—our beloved friend and brother—had faith in Christ and believed in life eternal.

He Who brought life and immortality to light, makes to us this comforting promise: "He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me, shall never die."

With this promise in mind, we should go forth into the future, sustained by the unshakable confidence that—in the City, whose gates swing outward never—we shall find our glorified loved one and friend—Charles Edward Russell—awaiting us.

"Now the laborer's task is o'er;
Now the battle day is past;
Now upon the farther shore
Lands the voyager at last.
Father, in Thy gracious keeping
Leave we now Thy servant sleeping."

"Passion for Justice"

By Mary White Ovington

Charles Edward Russell was with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People when it was called the National Negro Committee and was a member of its Board to the end of his life. An engagement calling him from the city prevented his being present at the small meeting at English Walling's that I have described in the pamphlet, "How the NAACP Began;" but he signed the Call printed on Lincoln's Birthday, 1909, and most important, he guided the first business meeting held at the first convention, May 31, 1909.

This meeting ended a three days' convention which Mr. Russell told me at the time was the most interesting he had ever attended. He was conversant with the Negro problem and knew some of the Negro leaders, but the papers and discussions, most of all the midday meals at the Union Square hotel, he found both emotionally and intellectually exciting. However, they were nothing compared to the final meeting when a series of resolutions were to be accepted and a Board elected.

We held that meeting in the small Assembly Hall of the Charity Organization Society. It began at eight and ended at twelve. During those four hours Charles Edward Russell presided with consummate ability and consideration. This was the time when Monroe Trotter and Ida Wells Barnett were living, and fighting valorously. It was also the time when Booker Washington's influence was at its height. The majority of our white supporters believed that without Washington's endorsement we could not raise money. We battled on this issue and succeeded in keeping Washington's name off the committee, but we paid the price by dropping the most ardent anti-Washingtonians.

Unquestionably there was a strong minority in the audience that convention night that did not trust the white people back of this new movement. They had been fooled before and they did not mean to be fooled again. They were there for a fight and, had not Russell presided, we might have ended in disorder.

I shall never forget the reading of our resolutions, paragraph by paragraph, the seemingly endless discussions, the amendments, and amendments to amendments, and other amendments following those. Charles Edward Russell was a thorough parlimentarian and never lost his way in this entanglement. He was always courteous, always ready to admit discussion no matter how futile it might seem, on the alert but never excited. At twelve o'clock, the resolutions drawn up had been accepted with slight alterations and the committee had been elected. And for the most part the audience went away satisfied.

Shortly after this, Russell urging his appointment, Dr. DuBois came to us as Director of Publicity and Research, we opened our office and before long had begun to be a force for justice in the Negro world.

I think that a passion for justice best characterizes this man who gave himself so wholeheartedly to the work which he helped to create.

"Hatred of Compromise"

By Walter White

Whenever I was with Charles Edward Russell I always had a feeling of being with one of the old testament prophets, or with John Brown, or Wendell Phillips. For Charles Edward Russell had the same relentless hatred of compromise with evil or injustice. His brilliant mind enabled him to cut through subterfuge or temporizing when a basic principle was at stake. His phenomenal vocabulary enabled him with sharp, incisive language to expose weakness and to insist on absolute justice.

If one thinks only of these attributes of Charles Edward Russell he would imagine that only discomfort attended contacts with Dr. Russell. This is far from the truth. Dr. Russell had an extraordinary knowledge of music, poetry, literature and other manifestations of the spirit. And with it he had an infinite capacity for friendship which made one respect and love him even when he might be in disagreement.

Charles Edward Russell

"The under dog, whatever his plight and wherever he might be, has lost a staunch and persistent champion in the passing of Charles Edward Russell, whose death at the age of eighty is reported from Washington. . . . He was forever espousing the cause of those he considered oppressed or wronged in any way. He strenuously opposed capital punishment, and his own efforts saved more than one man from the chair or gallows. Although some of the things he advocated may have been somewhat visionary, or even futile, he carried on his battles from a deep and persuasive conviction.

". . . . He was an able newspaper reporter and executive; he was one of the most effective of the "muckrakers" of forty years ago; he was the author of many books, some of which received high honors. He was a scholar, an authority on Shakespeare and Elizabethan poetry, and his knowledge of music was encyclopedic. Moreover, he was a singularly effective and ingratiating speaker. He had some hard knocks in his long career, but his life was full and rich, and at the end he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had never faltered in the advocacy of what he thought was right. . . ."*Herald Tribune*, April 26, 1941.

Resolutions

By District of Columbia NAACP

WHEREAS, the death of CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL has deprived us of a main fountainhead of inspiration for the work of justice and equality to all peoples, in which we are engaged and,

WHEREAS, as a member of our Executive Committee, he was absolutely devoted and faithful, teaching us all courage and militancy, never retreating from the high and difficult standards which he set for us all, always thorough in his planning and keenly intelligent in his understanding of all our problems, and WHEREAS, he showed us by his every-

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The Ford Contract: An Opportunity

By Louis Emanuel Martin

A NEW era for some fourteen thousand Negro workers has begun along the River Rouge. This vast industrial state of the Ford Motor Company, the largest industrial unit in the world, which was regarded only a few months ago as the strongest citadel of the open shop in America, has at last capitulated to the forces of organized labor. The story of the CIO Automobile Workers Union's conquest of the Ford empire will rank among the most dramatic in labor history for years to come.

All of us are aware of the importance this union struggle had for the Negro workers who are better represented and better integrated in the Ford Motor Company at River Rouge than in any other large mass production plant. The employment policies of the company have won the support of Negro public opinion and Henry Ford has been held as the model industrialist. Skilled as well as unskilled Negroes found employment in his shops and even the creative genius of black workers found expression there. The anti-Negro attitude of a great part of the auto industry made Henry Ford appear by contrast as a heaven-sent champion of the race and a Christian believer in the brotherhood of man.

When Henry Ford turned his back on unions, many Negro workers felt impelled to follow their kindly master. It was a question of "loyalty" according to the leaders of the anti-union forces and the time had come to show it. The thousands of Italians, Poles, hillbillies and immigrants, on the other hand, felt no such impulses and they were deaf to sentimental entreaty.

The majority of white workers saw the tremendous gains the UAW-CIO had won from every major auto company. In General Motors, Chrysler, and others the Workers had won job security through seniority which removed the constant threat of arbitrary layoffs. Other auto workers were receiving higher wages for the same work. There were no inhuman speed-ups. Other workers were free to vote without fear of spies from a service department that sought to dominate the political life of the community. The Ford workers wanted to be treated as free independent human beings who were worthy of their hire.

Negro and white workers in the vast Ford plant now have an opportunity, under the new union contract with the company, to build a model labor community composed of many races, each receiving justice and security

Negro in Dilemma

The Negro worker no less than the whites, wanted these same things. He wanted to buy a home and have some assurance that he would be working long enough to pay for it. He wanted to live without eternal fear. Besides these things, he also wanted to be loyal to Henry Ford. Seizing upon this dilemma, both sides pressed for advantage. As the union advanced the tension heightened and the majority of the black workers found themselves pitted against the vast army of whites who were signing up with the CIO.

With the sudden advent of the AF of L union, the picture broadened and it was broadcast that Ford looked with favor upon the new organization. The Negroes who were desperately trying to show their loyalty suddenly shifted their non-union position and joined up with the AF of L. A new bitterness came into the picture and the CIO redoubled its campaign. The supreme court decision which forced the company to cease its coercion of the workers was hailed as a CIO victory and the CIO drive got into high gear.

The showdown was not long in coming. CIO workers in the Pressed Steel Building staged a walkout on the afternoon shift on April 3 and the fight was on. UAW-CIO officials were themselves surprised by the suddenness of developments. Union men ran from building to building calling the workers out and before dawn of the next day the UAW officials called the spontaneous walkout an official strike. Several thousand Negro workers in the foundry stayed at their posts at the insistence of company agents who promised them full time and time and a half for overtime.

Courtesy Friday Magazine

Walter White talking with Negro Union Workers at one of the Gates of the Ford Co. during strike last April

They were told that they should protect the company against the union vandals.

Threat of Riot

Violence and threats of a race riot alarmed the entire city. The fight between the union and management had become also a struggle between white workers and Negro workers who were "standing by". Negro unionists found themselves at odds with their black fellow workers who were being armed inside the plant to break the picket lines. The stage had been set for a riot that would have had repercussions all over America. The UAW officials, however, appreciated the impending peril and with admirable foresight they began immediately a twenty-four-hour campaign among the white workers to prevent a racial fight. Leaders in the Negro community were asked to appeal to the Negro workers not to resort to violence and to evacuate the plant.

The wide publicity given this strike only a few weeks ago makes it unnecessary for me to review the details of the strike action or to elaborate upon the numerous racial incidents which, for all their sensationalism, are today without significance. Nevertheless, one must pay a tribute to many intelligent Negro leaders in Detroit who did not hesitate to get in the fray and restore peace between the workers. The NAACP and the National Negro Congress were both active and Walter White and John P. Davis flew to the scene in order to give direction to the efforts of their local branch organizations.

With the ordering of an NLRB election and the settlement of the strike, the major threats of racial violence abated. Rivalry between the AF of L "company union" and the UAW-CIO sustained the tension but the situation was under control. Walter Hardin, veteran Negro organizer, was placed in charge of the UAW-CIO organizational activity among Negro workers and, with the aid of an enlarged staff, he literally argued and debated the opposition into a neutral corner. It was clear at last that Ford and all of his cohorts were doomed to defeat.

Negro Among Negotiators

The election passed without incident and the resounding victory of the UAW-CIO convinced even the most skeptical that organized labor was in the saddle in the auto industry. Action began immediately upon the heels of this conviction and negotiations were begun before the NLRB election was even certified from Washington. A negotiating committee representing the union went into conference with company officials and a Negro, Shelton Tappes, who represented some seventeen thousand workers in the foundry, most of whom are Negroes, sat as a duly credited member of that committee.

No union man dared hope that the company was prepared to do what it immediately set about doing. In the words of Edsel Ford "there must be no half-way measures" and in such a spirit the UAW-CIO got its first contract in the auto industry which called for a union shop and a dues checkoff system collected by the company for the union. Phillip Murray called the contract a model for the industry and Ford once again had put his competitors in the doghouse. Ford has given the UAW-CIO new responsibilities and perhaps paved the way for organizational stability that in the end may pay him dividends.

Briefly, let us look at the contract. In the first place seniority is established and a Ford worker cannot now be arbitrarily dismissed at the whim of a straw boss. Craftsmen have plant-wide seniority and unskilled workers have been given departmental seniority. As one Negro unionist told me, "the seniority clause alone was worth the fight". It is job security for thousands of Negro workers who may now plan their own future without fear. It is freedom from the eternal threats of layoffs for cause or no cause.

The famed Ford service department which rivalled the FBI in the mysteriousness of its operations will be eliminated. The Ford worker can now go to the toilet with a clear conscience and without fear that someone is holding a stop watch on him. He can now attend any political meeting he chooses and vote for any party without fear that some spy will report his action. He will no longer live in constant terror.

Contract Applies to All

According to the contract, "at the beginning of the slack periods, hours shall be reduced to 32 a week before any worker with seniority is laid off". Here is further guarantee of a steady job. The contract further declares that "Wage rates will be brought up to the standard of the highest rates paid in the several classifications by other automobile companies." And believe it or not, Ford paid less wages in many classifications than other manufacturers. There are to be no wage reductions in any case.

The clause which is of direct concern to Negro workers, states: "The provisions of this contract shall apply to all employees covered by this agreement, without discrimination on account of race, color, national origin or creed."

All of the guarantees and safeguards which modern industrial workers have a human right to demand and expect, have to a large extent, been granted. The Ford Motor Company still retains the right to hire and that right is affected only by the stipulation that all employees must join the union within thirty days. There are many other important aspects of the contract which have not been discussed. Nevertheless, it is at once apparent that the workers at the Ford plant, black and white alike, have won security, independence and freedom.

As I write these lines preparations are under way for plant elections in which Negroes will have the opportunity to shape in a great measure their own industrial destiny. Within the democratic processes of the union, the Negro worker can fashion a new place for himself in American labor and develop a new relationship between the races. White and black workers meet in the union hall on terms of equality and they will of necessity educate each other. At least, there is now the opportunity.

Already many Negro workers at River Rouge have shown that they possess the capacity for leadership which heretofore has been expected only from our "white collar" class. Shelton Tappes, Veal Clough and a number of other unionists in the plant are now giving leadership to thousands of whites as well as to members of their own race. The ability to reason out an issue, to state a problem, to resolve a difference, to express an opinion, all are important assets in the democratic organization of the union. White workers have shown a willingness to accept and follow strong and sure leadership with little regard to color. If the black worker earnestly seeks to integrate himself into the union life, he has unlimited opportunity.

Must Be Active in Union

No one, however, is deceived. The Negro workers at River Rouge know that they cannot afford to relax their vigilance and that they must be ever watchful of their own interests. Here is what they are being told:

"To have your dues checked off each month to qualify as a union member to hold your job is merely a "half-way" measure. To obtain the fullest benefits possible under this new regime and to protect your future security, every employee of the Ford Motor Company is invited and urged to take an active part in the affairs of the union. Attend your departmental meetings. Express your opinions from the floor. Vote on measures introduced. If you fail to do this, then you will have no grounds for complaint on measures passed with which you do not agree."

Indeed, a new day has dawned on the

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On Hallowed Ground

By Howard W. Coles

The statue of Frederick Douglass has been moved from downtown Rochester, N. Y., to a better location and this piece is a reminder of the re-dedication ceremonies to take place there in September

IN Monroe county on the western shore of Lake Ontario in the state of New York, there is a section of country known as the "Great Genesee Country," and in this Genesee country there is a city called Rochester, the Flower City, the city beautiful.

The vast expanse of Lake Ontario, the varying shades of green of the oak, elm, sycamore, and pine crowd the shore; the quick rhythmic sound of paddles is heard as canoes round the point and head up the Genesee river. It is the year 1779. At the foot of the falls, the canoes are beached and the Jesuit Father with his Indian guides disembarks. Pack baskets are swung onto shoulders and they follow the trail to the village. Now the Jesuit Father will teach the Senecas the science of germination and later propagation, and then the first cultivated fruit trees will bloom in the Genesee country.

At last the white man had begun to come in large numbers to settle in this new country. The Redman began to fade into the background. Indian Allen was one of the historic characters of the early days of this section. It was his hundred acres which became known as the "Hundred Acre Tract." After changing hands many times, this tract was purchased by Nathaniel Rochester, who had immediately freed his slaves after coming from Virginia. His partners were Charles Carroll and William Fitzhugh and on November 11, 1811, through the efforts of these pioneers, this tract became the nucleus of the city of Rochester and was incorporated a village in the year 1817.

Douglass Headquarters

Thirty years later (1847), the great Frederick Douglass found a haven in Rochester. Here he lived for more than a quarter of a century, here published the famous "North Star," later changed to the "Frederick Douglass Paper;" here too, he stood like a towering giant looking toward the South and directing the vast and intricate activities of the Underground Railroad. Douglass learned to love this land, he says—"The city is the center of a virtuous, intelligent, enterprising, liberal and growing population. The surrounding country is remarkable for its fertility, and the city itself possesses one of the finest water powers in the world. It is on the line of the New York Central R. R.—a line that with its connections, spans the whole country. Its people are industrious and in comfortable circumstances—not so rich as to be indifferent to the claims of humanity, and not so poor as as to be unable to help any good cause which commanded the approval of their judgment. I know of no place in the Union where I could have located at the time with less resistance, or received a larger measure of sympathy and co-operation; and I now look back on my life and labor there with unalloyed satisfaction, and having spent a quarter of a century among its people, I shall always feel more at home there than any where else in this country."

And so we have the story of a great city and a liberal people. Bibles in the living-room, cudgels in the basements; dispensing the law by day, breaking it by night; dropping money in the collection plates on Sunday, "panhandling" in the streets on week-days to collect funds to transport slaves from the South. Teacups clinked in East Avenue homes. Around the cozy fireplace, high-lapeled men chatted about horse racing and politics. Occasionally their conversation was punctuated by the quiet laughter of women.

Below that gay and brilliant scene, crowded into a secret room that was suffered only on a shred of light, half-a-dozen colored men cowered against the wall. They didn't know where they were—didn't know the name of the city to which they had been spirited the night before. All they knew was that kind white friends and Fred Douglass had brought them safely past cordons of officers who were seeking to return them to slavery and had brought food and water to their hiding place.

Law-breakers—those men and wo-

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Ball Photo

Douglass Day celebration, June 9, 1940, Rochester, N. Y.; Mrs. Fredericka Douglass Perry of Kansas City, Mo., a grand-daughter of Frederick Douglass, lays a wreath at the base of the Douglass monument in Central Square. Left to right are: Leon DuBois, old friend of Douglass; Mrs. Perry; Howard W. Coles, editor of The Voice; *and E. Sands, editor of the Rochester* Democrat and Chronicle

Sense and Nonsense From South Carolina

Editorials from Two Leading Daily Papers

And Stay White

From the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*

Controversy and confusion of the kind troubling the Georgia university can be stopped, for good and all, by a simple and unqualified declaration of the leaders of the Negroes and their Northern white friends, the Rosenwald Fund, the various "Foundations," that they don't want mixed racial colleges and schools in the South, that they do not look to the eventual destruction of social barriers, that they consent to the southern white people's resolution that the two races must have complete separation with equal justice.

That is the declaration that they don't make and they won't make.

The white South looks on and observes the unremitting and insidious American Negro movement to demolish separation of the races in the South, and the white South is alarmed and on guard.

The white South witnesses the attempts of Negro students, the money furnished them in the North, to break into Southern colleges with assistance of the federal courts.

The white South is not blind to the trend of federal court decisions to shatter the walls that separate white and Negro life.

Southern white men of good conscience and good will have done and are doing everything possible to improve the Negro's lot, to punish lynchers, to give the Negroes good schools and fair treatment in every way—always with separation.

If these Northern Negro leaders, the "foundations" and their white allies of the "intellectuals" are in agreement with the position of the white South they do not say it, and they leave Southerners to infer that they are not.

White Southerners cannot and do not ignore the gnawing campaign that is carried on by these people. They are well aware that if they should carry their point in the schools and colleges they would turn to invasion of segregation in industry, that they would demand admission of Negroes into Southern cotton mills and mill villages.

The whole question is vexing and difficult. We well know the burden that Negro schooling places on Southern white shoulders, but we know as well that the white people are willing to carry it. They need assurance that the organized Northern Negro movement has not the purpose to undermine and destroy the integrity of the white South, and assurance is denied them.

The denial is the bottom cause of the controversy in Georgia, and it will not be obscured by the prattle about "academic freedom," however it lead to imprudent and sometimes inexcusable incidents.

Rather the white people of the South would have no colleges, no schools, than mixed colleges, mixed schools.

The Northern "liberals," white and colored, have got to accept this position of the white South or to make war against it.

Essentially, the course and acts of Eugene Talmadge are sound and right.

Without racial separation white people cannot live in the South and stay white.

A Choice to Be Made

From the Columbia, S. C., *State*

The United States supreme court has declared that a state must offer educational opportunities to Negroes equal to those it offers to white students.

The United States supreme court has reversed the conviction of four Florida Negroes in a Florida court, because it found the accused men had been intimidated or otherwise illegally influenced by white officers.

In a decision earlier than either of these, the United States supreme court had set aside the verdicts in the famous Scottsboro cases. The United States supreme court has decided that public carriers may not give inferior accommodations to Negroes who pay the same fares as other passengers receiving superior services.

The United States supreme court has decided that political primaries for the nominating of congressional candidates are under federal jurisdiction when those primaries are an essential part of the process of election.

A federal court of appeals has decided that Negro school teachers must be paid the same as white teachers of corresponding qualifications and with equivalent duties.

These decisions are individually interesting and individually important. But their true importance is more easily realized when they are considered as evidences of a trend. The United States is moving closer to democracy. The United States is developing keener concern for the status of minorities.

This is a powerful trend. It cannot be stopped by one state, or by several states. It can be stopped only by a majority of the people of the United States. But a majority of the people seem to be accelerating, not impeding, the trend. Lawmakers and judges respond to trends. They do not, as a rule, develop them.

So South Carolina is face to face with a situation. South Carolina must make a choice.

Adjustments in race relations are inevitable.

The choice South Carolina has is this: Will the white people of South Carolina guide inevitable changes for the common good of this state; or will we decline to take leadership offered to us, and let changes come unguided by us?

We cannot block a national trend that is moving toward fervently avowed national purposes.

Think about this, please. Think calmly. Think of the present and of the future. There can be no going back to the past.

The situation is not critical. There is no compelling reason why it should become critical. But it will become critical if we, the white people of South Carolina, refuse, or neglect, to be reasonably cooperative.

Common and general progress can be gained from the situation. Common and general happiness can be promoted. Both races can go forward, each at its own speed. But this will not happen as smoothly as it should unless South Carolina leaders of both races work together for attainable, sensible goals.

Return To The Inn

by John Henrik Clarke

WHEN they reached the outskirts of the forest, the man riding in front held up his hand and the soldiers behind him brought their horses to an abrupt halt and stared reverently at him, eagerly awaiting his next command. He was a tall, black man, with heavy features that seemed to dwarf the horse under him. His eyes possessed the radiant alertness of a man who, at one time, had been accustomed to fighting under tense pressure. He was further distinguished from the rest of the riders by a skilfully-tailored uniform, made of the expensive fabrics once worn exclusively by the French aristocracy who ruled the Island of Haiti before Toussaint L'Ouverture came into power. By his dress, almost anyone could recognize him as one of the heads of the Haitian army.

For a long while, he neither moved forward nor looked back at the soldiers. Instead, he stared reminiscently at the bungalow-shaped inn in the clearing. The blurred scenes of many bygone years were taking shape within his mind. He was remembering, most of all, a young man who used to stand in front of the inn and take care of the horses when the rich French plantation owners came to dine; remembering many secret midnight meetings of the slaves, in the forest in which the long-smoldering desire for freedom grew hot within his breast; and, later, when he broke away from servitude and made a proud name for himself, alongside Toussaint L'Ouverture, in the long and tedious war for Haitian independence.

At last he guided his horse forward, signaling the men behind him to do likewise. It was raining, now, a slow, unvarying rain that fell on the large, tropical leaves, a dull obligato to the violin music coming from within the inn.

When the leader was almost to the hitching-post, one of the soldiers dismounted quickly and ran ahead of him, taking the reins of his horse. He climbed down and the other men followed him, in unison.

After all the horses had been tied, two of the soldiers went into the inn ahead of the leader, and the others circled around him so that he was protected on all sides. They could not understand why he had chosen to ride on horseback through a wet tropical forest when he could have ridden to the inn in the best carriage in all Haiti.

He was fully inside the inn before he began to attract attention. But, as soon as the diners noticed him, they rose from their seats, bowed courteously and sat down again, observing him with mixed awe and reverence.

Everyone wondered why the great leader should choose to ride through the rain when the finest carriage in Haiti was at his disposal; why he should visit the insignificant inn in the clearing where only those of modest means congregated; why he should leave precious gold as a tip for service. In this little story the author succeeds in conveying the impression of the immense change in fortunes that revolutions bring

The war for Haitian independence had been won for a decade now, and the painstaking task of reconstructing the country had been leveled down to a tolerable pace. The people's grievance over the foul kidnaping of Toussaint L'Ouverture by Napoleon's soldiers had abated just enough for them to enjoy some of the better things that came with freedom. In the hills beyond Cape Haitien, a great fortress called *The Citadel* was being built, to guard them against further invasion. . . .

The moment they were seated at their tables a waiter approached and the leader ordered food and drink for the rest of the men, taking nothing for himself. When he removed his cape, letting the grandeur of his uniform come into full view, a series of submerged whispers spread through the inn. The diners were neglecting their food, focusing most of their attention on him.

When his followers had finished their meal, he rose and dropped two gold coins on the table. The waiter came forward, staring unbelievingly. Finally he picked up the coins and walked away.

(*Continued on page* 299)

Conversation With an Infant

The ways of the world are strange, my son, and the concepts of beauty change,
The truth of today is tomorrow's lie, over the universe' range;
But you are an infant, quiet in bed, and of concepts you cannot know,
So take it from me, who have lived, my son, check what I say when you grow.

Consider the Negro woman, son, how she labors with lusty arm,
Yet few there have been who would praise her, few whites to concede her her charm,
And yet by the laws of the social past, yet by the natural laws,
She'll surely come into her own, my son, beauty like hers is a cause.

The eyes of the world, to her, my son, shall be opened in time to come,
For she is no less than your mother, son—hearts of the world are a drum.
The hearts of the world are beating, son, they are beating from out one source,
From blood that is red and from life that's old—drum from a colorless force.

I only can think of Renoir, son, when he painted his masterpiece,—
When blocked for a color to tone his work, black was his choice—then he'd cease:
It's thus with the artist, Nature, son, as She splashes her hues around,
To some she gives white and to some gives black—so we are variously gowned.

And who shall be judge, and which man argue the color that's nature's own?
And who is the devil so deep in hell, certain that his is the tone,—
So certain his color, white, or red, or of yellow, or black or pink
Is final and ultimate, dead to rights? Who but a bigot, I think!

Which brings us back to women, son, and to women of Negro birth,
You cannot dismiss a whole people, son: Negroes, they people the earth!
The lies that they tell in school, my son, that this woman is "only a maid,
Devoid of all charm and devoid of all soul,"—that has to go, I'm afraid.

Remember my humble words, my son, it's a point I don't need to labor,
And when you grow up and you're working son, teach it a bit to your neighbor,—
And live like a man with breadth, my son, and a sense for all of the hues,
And take, for your wife, with my blessing, son, whatever color you choose!

—By Earl Conrad

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Negro Motormen in Brooklyn

New York, N. Y., *Age*

In announcing the appointment of six Negroes as motormen on the trolley cars of Brooklyn last week, the reporter neglected to point out that the trolley lines of Brooklyn are now a part of the unified transit system of New York and the appointments came through the Municipal Civil Service and not through the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation, as was stated in the article. Credit is therefore due the city administration for removing a color barrier and opening up another field of employment for Negroes.

As is generally known now, under Mayor LaGuardia the City of New York has recaptured the subways and most of the other transit facilities formerly operated by private companies. When the Eighth Avenue Subway was opened in 1936, Negroes who had previously had experience as Pullman Porters and other railroad workers, were given opportunity to qualify as guards and later to take examinations as motormen on this subway line, which was from the beginning municipally operated. Last year, the B.M.T. and the I.R.T. lines were taken over by the City of New York and all have been unified and are being operated by the City Board of Transportation. At the present time, several hundred Negroes are employed in various capacities in the transportation system of the city.

The opening up of jobs to Negroes on the Brooklyn trolleys, which are soon to be replaced by buses, is evidence that the old argument that white mechanics will not work with Negroes is untrue. It also recalls to mind the contract signed some months ago by the private operating company of buses in Manhattan in which a promise was made to employ Negroes on the Eighth and Lenox avenue bus lines. To date, a dozen or more Negroes have been trained as bus operators but none have been employed.

A comparison of the attitude of the private companies operating transportation lines in New York with that of the City makes us strongly in favor of municipal operation of all city transportation systems.

A photograph and a War Department's news release, printed in this issue of the *Defender,* call to the reader's attention the singular record of a Negro soldier and of his promotion to the post of sergeant for unusual bravery and heroism. This soldier is 46 years old and has spent nearly 30 years of his life in the Army. . . . This is a fine record, and one of which Sergeant Baker or any other soldier might well be proud. . . .

On the other hand, how can the War Department expect Negroes to enthuse over the promotion of a man with an excellent service record over a period of 30 years, to the post of sergeant? It is only a non-commissioned title, and sergeants are being made every day. We read just last week that a 20-year-old youth who has been in the Army only four months had been made a first sergeant at Fort Bragg. Hence we view the promotion of Sergeant Baker as emphasizing the unfairness existing in the Army. What would he have to do to be promoted to the post of lieutenant or captain? And if a man with this outstanding record rates only a sergeant's stripes, what hope is there for the other Negroes in the Army? . . . Louisville, Ky., *Defender.*

Whether the Governor of Georgia knows it or not, he and his ilk are the greatest enemies of democracy and of these United States of America. These bigoted, hypocritical, self-styled believers of democracy, are the ones who keep Negroes from being employed in private industry and are against them serving in the Navy, except as messmen, and in the Army only as segregated regiments or troops. In times like these when all-out effort is being made to defend the remnants of democracy, these prejudicial fools persist with claptrap chatter in keeping democracy from becoming a reality, hard as it may try. Such actions as these only incur the bitterness of the suppressed group and make democracy farcical to them, and they are not so apt to want to give their lives for it. . . . New Orleans, La., *Weekly.*

It is foolish for Edgar Brown or any of the rest of the employees of the government attempting to prove they could go as far digging into official rottenness as some one detached from a government pay check. Such argument does not make sense in Chinese. The elephants will be roosting in rose bushes on a cold day in August when a fellow holding a job walks up to his boss and berates the fellow who issues his meal ticket about the way he is treating the general public.

We have some fine friends in Washington, but when it comes to the task of setting the fur on the government's back, the pay-check boys know they cannot squeak their sober unadulterated judgment without catching a train back home. None of the boys in Washington wants to catch a train back home. . . .

There is nothing we have said here which should invite the thought that we are attacking the integrity of the members of the Black Cabinet. We are sure they have in their files valuable information which should be available in such an investigation. But the pay-roll boys should make that information available to citizens who have within their independent status the social and political dynamite that makes things happen. . . . Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch.*

Those who are most ravenous for war, are the ones who will be least likely to go. . . . Cincinnati, Ohio, *Union.*

The naming of Senator Joseph Byrnes of South Carolina to the U. S. Supreme Court by President Roosevelt two weeks ago was disappointing to believers of democracy and the Constitution.

Byrnes will be called upon to interpret the provisions of the Constitution. His previous statements and actions as a congressman make him unfit to fairly and honestly perform the duties of Supreme Court Justice. . . .

Those who expect Byrnes to be another Hugo Black may be badly disappointed. Black was an ardent New Dealer interested in social legislation, and Byrnes has been an unreconstructed southern democrat for all these many years.

The best that may be said of Byrnes' appointment is that F.D.R. had a political debt to pay and he paid it. The cost of that debt will probably be borne by the Negroes, the labor unions and the underprivileged people of the country. . . . Minneapolis, Minn., *Spokesman.*

To Charles Edward Russell

September 25, 1860–April 23, 1941

A Tribute, by Harlan E. Glazier

Dear Comrade, can you now survey the storm and stress of four score years?
We that are left to miss you know full well,
How, many years agone, you set your firm hand to the plow;
And all along the way you've drawn a furrow straight and clean.
Up barren hills, when seemingly you toiled alone,
You faltered not; your hand forsook no whit the plow.
Courage sublime sustained you through the rough and stony fields—
The vicious obstacles foes strewed along your path,
The rocks of harshest words and deeds they hurled at you.
Undaunted, you turned up fresh soil, for crop of after years.
Through fertile valleys, where abundant harvest followed in your wake,
Untempted by the lure of ease, you forged along,
With labor past all reckoning; no sigh for wayside pleasures left behind.
The sneers of worldly-wise, you heeded not.
The fame you won, it led you not astray.
Abandoned were the dreams of wealth you might have gained—
For richer store of treasure, laid up in these hearts of ours.
The further plaudits of the world, you spurned and cast aside,
To battle for the meek and lowly, the oppressed.
Perchance the season did not favor, showed no promise of due sheaves of grain;
You plowed, unswerving, undismayed, and not one backward glance.
Perhaps your fellow-workers lagged, their hearts and hands grew weak and lame;
Serene, you drove your plow toward the goal ahead—
That heaven of social justice, you'd establish in our midst.
Your eye—fixed ever its keen, eagle vision on the work to do—
Could pierce quite through the shams of little men, and scorn them down.
With whips of satire, you fought off the beasts of racial pride and prejudice;
Your plowshare turned them down, into th' oblivion they deserved.
Whate'er their color, creed, or race, your fellow-men—
The key into your heart was but their cry of need for aid in righting wrongs—
Found your brave, friendly hand stretched out in warmest welcome to them all;
Your greeting always: Brother, let us break the sod of outworn customs based on soul-less greed;
We plow together for the common good.
No worthy cause e'er made appeal to you for sympathy,
But got full measure of support—not phrases fine.
And when, as often, enemies attacked, you urged your motive power full speed,
And plowed their evil machinations down.
No hatred for the ignorant, or those led through mistaken zeal,
To try to throw both plow and plowman out of their true course;
But ruthless condemnation for the social sinners in high place,
Whose cruel lust for power has trampled down the underprivileged.
Such were your guiding precepts, Brother, as you held the plow.
Dear Comrade Russell in that life beyond—or are you with us still?—
We fain would sense your presence, your inspiring words, your counsels strong.
Be with us yet, lest we forsake the plow; help that we faint not at our task.
Brother, and Friend, and Comrade, we *will* carry on; the challenge we accept,
Take o'er the plow your worn-out hand released;
Our furrows not so straight, our paths more devious;
Yet strive we till we too can steer our course, as you, the goal ahead.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

FEP Committee

Thanks to the ten-day behind-the-scenes battle waged by the Association in Washington, D. C. and New York, two Negro members instead of one were appointed on the Fair Employment Practices Committee over considerable opposition of co-director Sidney Hillman of OPM. The two Negro members are the eminent Chicago attorney, Earl B. Dickerson and the First Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Milton P. Webster. The NAACP suggestion that the presidents of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. also serve on the committee, was likewise followed.

M. P. WEBSTER

As soon as the committee was formed, the Association urged investigation of eight or ten of the firms known to most flagrantly discriminate against Negro labor, suggesting "moral suasion or other effective means of reaching discrimination in contracts let by the federal government prior to the issuance of the President's executive order".

The following week Laurence A. Cramer, executive secretary of the FEP Committee, had his attention called to the Sperry Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and its subsidiary, the Ford instrument plant, which together employed but 26 Negroes, 22 serving as laborers, while the same companies were recruiting white workers in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia at wages of $13, $14, and $15 a week.

The Association has also urged that part of the $4,000,000 voted by the Senate to the President for "confidential purposes" be alloted to the FEP Committee to investigate job discrimination.

Brewster Yields

Constant vigilance on the part of the Association accompanied by heavy pressure exerted against the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation has resulted in that company slowly lowering the barriers erected against Negro labor. Following rosy pictures of Negro defense employment by this company issued by OPM'S Negro branch, the Association exposed the manner in which some Negro workers had been given the "run-around". The Association's alertness has caused this company to change its policy.

The Association has also charged that the Senate Committee headed by Senator Truman, of Missouri, "does not plan to make any real and effective investigation into the discrimination against the Negro in the national defense program". NAACP queries have drawn only evasive replies from the committee's chief counsel. Accordingly Walter White conferred with Senate leaders on the possibility of early action on S.R. 75, a resolution devoted solely to the investigation of defense discrimination against Negroes.

WPA Dismissals

Thanks to Association complaints over the heavy percentage of Negro WPA workers being laid off in New York City, the authorities agreed to make a survey in connection with the matter.

Likewise the NAACP took to task the New York State Employment Service for using forms indicating the race of applicants for defense jobs, in direct defiance of the President's recent order. The NYSES director replied that it was "a local office error" which would not be repeated.

EARL B. DICKERSON
FEP Committee Member

DR. EDNA L. GRIFFIN
President, Pasadena, Calif., branch

The Association intervened in behalf of the dining car employees of the New York Central railroad who are seeking better pay and working conditions.

A protest was registered with the New York State Employment Service against the Anaconda Wire and Steel company of Hastings, N. Y., for expressing preference for workers who were not "Italians, Germans, or Negroes". The charge is being investigated by NYSES.

The Armed Services

A new excuse for barring Negroes in the Navy from any except mess service was made by Admiral Nimitz, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, who declared "Negroes are extremely brilliant", would rapidly rise to high rank, and that this would cause resentment among white sailors.

The Association protested to Secretary of War Stimson against Army officers at Camp Upton telling draftees about to be transferred to the South "not to drink with niggers" and that "down there you don't shake a Negro's hand when he says goodby". The NAACP letter quoted from an editorial in the newspaper PM condemning the practice.

Secretary Stimson was also called upon to thoroughly probe the recent Ft. Bragg shooting and coming trial of the military police involved to head

off a whitewash of the affair. President Roosevelt was called upon to appoint a civilian-military board of inquiry, including a Negro member, to review the Ft. Bragg case and the entire matter of the treatment of Negro soldiers by white military police in the South.

An NAACP investigator established that white M.P.'s were beating Negro soldiers unmercifully before the shooting occurred.

The Association has protested to the President against the humiliating treatment accorded a young Brooklyn, N. Y. Negro who enlisted in the United States Maritime Service in Florida.

A resolution condemning discrimination against Negroes in the national defense program was passed at the recent 52nd annual meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in Atlantic City, N. J.

Educational Front

Thanks to the suits brought by the NAACP against the University of Missouri, the enforced expenditures for Lincoln University have grown so large that Senator L. D. Joslyn, of Charleston, Mo., recently declared during debate over an additional $200,000 item: "We'd just as well tell the Negroes to go ahead and enroll at Columbia (where the University of Missouri is located), and if the students don't object, let them stay there".

The Calvert County (Maryland) Educational Association has sent a check to the Association for $125 to be placed in its educational fund, in appreciation for its battle to equalize salaries in states where differentials exist. Maryland teachers have gained annually more than $500,000 in income as a result of Association efforts in their behalf.

A check for $500 was also received from the teachers' association of Anne Arundel county, Maryland, where recent successful NAACP efforts increased Negro teachers' salaries $45,000 annually.

South Carolina has acted to head off teachers' salary court action by the NAACP by adopting a plan "to reduce the inequality between comparably-trained Negro and white teachers". The plan proposes increases of from $40 to $120 a year.

The NAACP legal staff learns that the Louisville teachers' salary case will be heard in the U. S. District Court for Western Kentucky during the October term.

To avoid admitting six Negro applicants to the graduate and law schools of the University of Tennessee, a committee from the university worked during the summer on a curricula for graduate work at Tennessee A. & I. State college. The six applicants are also allegedly being offered all expenses paid at any school they desire during the next academic year.

The Association is aiding the fight of colored and white citizens of Norfolk County, Va., who are seeking reinstatement of three colored principals and fighting the school board's plan to sub-

At the conclusion of the recent membership campaign of the Pittsburgh, Pa., branch, the following workers were listed as PANCAS (those soliciting memberships above quota set by branch); sitting, left to right: Mesdames Mable Carter, Viola Sams, Marie Robinson, Esther Comer, Lena M. Hughes, director of campaign, Sophia B. Nelson, C. E. Kidd, Georgianna Dotson, and Pearl Miller. Standing: Benjamin McLin, Mrs. Marian B. Holmes, secretary, Mrs. William Gittens, Mrs. Thomas E. Barton, F. A. Nelson, Mrs. C. B. Hawkins, John G. Jones, Mrs. L. Wilson, and Mrs. Edna S. Vaughn. Other Pittsburgh PANCAS are listed in the branch news

Celebrities of the Houston conference; left to right: Attorney Robert Ming of the Howard Law school; Lionel Hampton, band leader; Horace Cayton, of Chicago, Ill.; Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal; *Elmer A. Carter (with back to camera) presenting the 26th Spingarn Medal to Richard Wright, noted author*

ordinate Negro principals to white principals.

Quick Action by A. & P.

The Atlantic and Pacific stores took quick action on the Association's expose of the sale of "Nigger Head Stove Polish" in stores in the New York area. It removed the offending item from all of its stores and from its purchasing list.

The Birmingham NAACP had Hubert G. Alexander, white policeman, discharged and will prosecute him for the murder of a Negro, John Jackson, who was shot four times and killed by the policeman who charged that the Negro laughed at him when arrested. The coroner found it "justifiable homicide," and the grand jury refused to indict the officer. The Branch lawyers hope to convict Alexander.

The Association has received $25 from the Public Porters Protective and Defensive Association, of New York City "in sincere appreciation of the services" rendered by the NAACP to the porters' group.

The Association has fired the first shot in a fight against the illegal jim-crowing of Negro passengers boarding New York-Florida trains in New York. They are always assigned to the front car although free to use the trains' facilities north of Washington, D. C. The NAACP has pointed out that aside from separate coaches being illegal in the North, the facilities for whites and Negroes are not exactly equal.

Mrs. Ruby White (in white dress, right), widow of Bob White who was murdered in a Conroe, Texas, court room, being presented by Roy Wilkins with a collection of $120 contributed by delegates at the Houston conference

Branch News

California: At a recent mass meeting of the Pasadena branch Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore, Md., branch, was guest speaker. The meeting was held in Scott Methodist church, of which Rev. Karl E. Downs is pastor. Mrs. Jackson also rendered a musical number, accompanied by her daughters, Mrs. Karl Downs and Mrs. Carter. Following valuable suggestions for the branch work, by the guest, Preston A. Griffin gave a reading; Barney Durham presided at the meeting.

Connecticut: Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, spoke on the Fight for Freedom Committee work for the Norwalk branch recently.

District of Columbia: Congressional sanction of "strong-arm" methods by the Washington Police department was cited by the executive committee of the D. C. branch as the apparent cause of the killing of two Negroes by police officers within a

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week. Dr. Leon A. Ransom, chairman of the legal committee, said that the public stigmatizing of the colored population as a criminal element during the congressional inquiry, the sponsorship of physical violence by police officials and members of congress, and the racial emphasis in newspaper reports of recent crimes, have all contributed to a tension in the area which may have explosive results. The executive committee opposed the granting of general police authority to private guards and censured the attitude of police officers in attendance at the main plant of the Arcade Laundry where a strike has been in progress for some time. The fact that a majority of the strikers and pickets are colored is considered the basis for much of the anti-labor attitude of the employer and the partiality shown strike-breakers by the police.

Iowa: A new emancipation, "not from bodily slavery but from economic, social and political slavery," is the goal of the NAACP, said S. Joe Brown, Des Moines attorney to an audience of about 1,000 at Waterloo's annual Emancipation day program at Electric Park in August. Afternoon hours of the celebration day were given over to sports contests, and a barbecue. During the evening, the group danced to the music of Walter Fuller's orchestra of Chicago, and was entertained by a Tavern on the Green floor show.

Louisiana: One of the suggestions brought back from the 32nd annual conference of the association by the delegates to the Baton Rouge branch for strengthening its work, is the mimeographing of Walter White's message, and placing it in the hands of every member. Charles Marlarcher suggested an annual NAACP day which took place on August 31, as a way of making the whole city NAACP conscious.

Minnesota: Albert Black served as chairman of a panel discussion conducted by the Duluth branch on August 17. Participating in the discussion, "The Minnesota Negro in National Defense," was Frank Alsup, director of the C.I.O. Packing House Workers; Buster Clayborne, Sleeping Car Porters Union; and Melvin Gault, recent Wilberforce graduate.

Michigan: A large audience participated in the national defense and emancipation day celebration sponsored by the Albion branch at Victory park in August. Preceding the park activities a parade was held, headed by Boy Scout Troop 62's band and a Scout troop from Jackson. Principal speaker was Capt. Fleetwood McCoy of Fort Custer; James Curtis presided and spoke briefly. The day was otherwise filled in with entertainment such as, singing, dancing, softball games, and health motion pictures.

New Jersey: Alexander White was guest speaker for the recent meeting of the Summit branch, at the Mt. Olive United Holy Church.

Following a request for investigation of racial discrimination in local defense activities by the Atlantic City branch, OPM has promised that the Regional Representative will investigate the situation in that area.

Charles Reynolds has been elected chairman of the committee of Rutherford residents who will work on "Negro employment in national defense industries" conditions. The group will be under the jurisdiction of the Passaic branch cooperating with the National Committee to Prevent Discrimination in National Defense Industries. Other members of the committee include Marie Hilliard, Dr. J. C. Gibbs, Rev. C. Currin, Jos. Smith, William Gallow, Mrs. I. Jeter, Frank Coye, Mrs. Coye, Mrs. E. Hicks, and Mrs. Carmen Marshall.

New York: Magistrate Charles Solomon discussed "What Makes Crime" before a recent meeting of the Brooklyn branch at the Carlton YMCA. Fred H. M. Turner is president of the branch.

Ohio: The Cincinnati branch established a historic precedent when its pressure tactics against the Municipal Civil Service system and the city hospital officials resulted in the appointment of Winifred Craig and Marianne Hull as nurses at the Cincinnati General Hospital. Both had been successful in civil service examinations. The appointments were the results of the efforts of a committee composed of Attorney W. A. McClain, president John H. Phillips, Nathan Wright, Mrs. Quincy Gladden and Mrs. Winifred Craig.

Irving Williamson, president of the Dayton branch, has been appointed as general manager of the St. Louis *Call* Publishing Co.

Pennsylvania: Additional PANCAS successful in the recent membership campaign of the Pittsburgh branch who were absent from the photograph found on these pages were: Mr. and Mrs. Ben Corsey, Mrs. A. B. Graves, Mrs. J. E. Andrews, J. E. Phillips, Mrs. F. Key, Mrs. H. S. Brown,

Members of the Houston, Texas, youth council who were hosts to youth delegates at the recent national conference; left to right, front: Helen Blaine, Lillian Bonner, membership chairman; Thelma Ford, entertainment; Elizabeth Hayden, Hazel McCullough, secretary; Myrtle Stoney; Anita Randon; Margaret Misher, treasurer; Gustine Gunnels, program; William Reese, and Esther B. Shannon. Back row: John Semedo, finance secretary; George Nelson; Alfred Simmons, education; Thelma Simmons; Theodore Johnson, 1st vice-president; Rosie Neyland, president; Isaiah Watkins, 2nd vice-president; Hattie Jemison, programs; and Spencer Grant

Mrs. Estella Blank, Mrs. S. Johnson, Mrs. O. Bussey, W. A. Arvin, E. E. Utterback, Lee Basil, J. K. Anderson, Mrs. E. Moore, Rowland Sawyer, Mrs. Bessie Walker, Garfield Baldock, J. H. Umpstead, and Mrs. Edna Coffee.

Tennessee: L. D. Collins, vice-president, presided at the August meeting of the Chattanooga branch. The program included reports from the labor and judicial committees, and a report from Prof. T. D. Upshaw, Jr., B. T. Washington high school principal, on enrollments in defense training classes.

Youth Council News

Detroit Memberships

The Detroit Councils of the Association recently sent in a list of new members for the current year totalling 310 names, with the assurance that more will follow.

Muskogee Activities

The most important project undertaken by the Muskogee, Okla., council was a statistical employment survey, which resulted in securing jobs for Negro youth in the Coca Cola Bottling Co., the Consumers Ice Co., and the Woolworth five-and-ten. At the present time they are sponsoring a tennis court project.

Funds for the various projects were raised by holding bridge parties and showing educational motion pictures.

East Orange, N. J.

The Orange, N. J., council exceeded its quota for the year's apportionment.

A bulletin about NAACP work is published by the group, and placed in beauty parlors, restaurants, barber shops, taverns, etc.

Chicago, Ill.

The Chicago Youth Councils held a "Training Trek," to school members and friends in methods and techniques of organization and committee work.

Speakers and leaders included Ernest Calloway, education and publicity director, United Service Transport Employees Association; Frances T. Moseley, executive member of the Chicago NAACP, past president, theater group, production manager of Artists and Models ball of South Side Community Center; Winifred Ward, director of the children's theater, of Northwestern university; Janice Kingslow, president of the Polka-Dot Puppet group; Gustave Postler, authority on cooperative planning; and George Dorsey, history instructor of DuSaible high school.

The program included discussions on the effectiveness of the procedure of the NAACP'S program, methods of raising money, publicity and writing techniques, winning the assistance of newspaper heads, the effectiveness of the mimeograph machine, dramatics and entertainment, which embraced education, movies, stage and radio. The organization plans included methods of educating the people, the use of parliamentary procedure, and the conducting of a speakers bureau.

The Chicago Council has also instituted the publication of a "Youth Review," which is issued monthly by the James Weldon Johnson youth council.

Merit Award to Youth Leader

For the first time in the history of the Youth Section of the Association, a member of the youth division of the NAACP, Etta Stanton, former president of the Talladega college chapter, received the merit award at Houston, Texas.

In selecting Miss Stanton to receive this citation, the committee stated: "Miss Etta Stanton, for her leadership in making the Talladega college chapter, of the Association one of the strongest groups in the college category; and for her active participation in all phases of the Association's program."

Flint, Mich.: A special Memorial Day program was presented at the Clifford St. Community Center.

Father and Son

Walk on in your proud dignity—
Both challenged by humanity,
And feeling all life's gravity,
Little brown quail by the vined fence rail.
I know you are father and son,
By the topknots on your heads,
Moving, so velvet, on,
Circumspect in your treads.

Mankind as brown as your plumage
Meets foes, too, in its pilgrimage.
And father and son
Walk warily on
In color-hatred's sacrilege.

—Effie Lee Newsome

Gangsters

The gangsters of the world
Are riding high.
It's not the underworld
Of which I speak.
They leave that loot to smaller fry.
Why should they great Capone's
Fallen headpiece seek
When stolen crowns
Sit easier on the head—
Or Ethiopia's band of gold
For higher prices
On the market can be sold—
Or Iraq oil—
Than any vice or bootleg crown of old?
The gangsters of the world ride high—
But not small fry.

—Langston Hughes

Charleston, W. Va.: Newly elected officers of this group include: Endom Gilmore, president; Doris Straughter, vice-president; Rebecca Battle, secretary; Daisy Jones, assistant secretary; and Mabel Seals, treasurer.

Cheyney College: Recently received in the national office were funds to be applied to their yearly apportionment. There were contributions from the freshman, sophomore, and senior classes.

Talladega College: The Talladega chapter recently sent into this office a list of memberships totalling 47 names. This chapter has been consistent in fund raising, memberships, and general program activities.

Tulsa, Okla.: The Council has forwarded to this office, membership lists totalling 17 new members. This council is one of the most outstanding in the state, and has taken the lead in social and civic projects in Tulsa.

Councils on Honor Roll

In keeping with our appeal to make the youth division of the Association as financial as possible, it was very gratifying to note that many youth councils qualified for the Honor Roll which was hung at the 32nd annual conference.

Among the councils which paid up their apportionment of $25 before the conference were: Tulsa, Okla.; Houston, Texas; West Virginia Union university; San Antonio, Texas; St. Petersburg, Fla.; Berwyn, Pa.; Bayonne, N. J.; Talladega college; Washington, D. C.; Boston, Mass.; Springfield, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Montclair, N. J.; Orange, N. J.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Youth Council No. 1, New York City; and Willow Grove, Pa.

There were more Youth Councils and College Chapters represented this year than in the past few years.

Probe Red Cap Wages

Resulting from the recent adoption of a Senate resolution calling for an extensive investigation into the wages, hours and other conditions and practices of employment of red caps by railroads and terminal companies, the United Transport Service Employees of America, the red caps' union, announced its completion of preparations for the series of hearings which will be conducted by the United States Department of Labor's wage and hour division at Chicago, St. Louis, New York and Washington.

The Chicago hearing was held July 15 and the St. Louis hearing, July 21. Dates of hearings in New York and Washington, D. C., will be announced later.

Conference Resolutions

Resolutions Adopted at the 32nd Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Houston, Texas. June 28, 1941

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in its 32nd annual session, desires to say that in this direful hour of world conflict America needs a new birth of freedom. In this hour when men everywhere are extolling the virtues of democracy, radical changes must be made with reference to the nation's attitude toward minority groups.

No chain is stronger than its weakest link. The prevalence of mob violence, jim-crowism, segregation, disfranchisement, and general discrimination against thirteen million Negro Americans, which includes the denial of the right to work, is the weakest link in our democratic process.

To meet these inadequacies in our democracy this Association declares its views to be as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

We, the largest minority of American people, recognize the necessity of combating Nazism at home and abroad, and to this end we are offering our full mental and physical resources. We, hereby reassert, however, the fact that our own American government has to date deprived us the opportunity to contribute these resources.

Therefore, Be it Resolved: that Negroes be admitted to all departments of military service —the Navy, Army, Marine and Air Corps— with emphasis placed upon all types of promotion.

That Negroes be given an equal opportunity in the entire defense training program for skilled and semi-skilled positions.

That Negroes be given a fair share in employment in industries holding defense contracts, whether these industries are private or governmental.

That the government shall, forthwith, instruct the industries that no Negro shall be denied employment on the basis of non-union affiliation in instances where they are excluded from unions.

PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER

While we feel that the Executive Order of the President dated July 25, is a step in the right direction in that it seeks to integrate the Negro into the National Defense Program, still we point out that there are various weaknesses in that order, namely:

If it is going to be a continued policy of the states to determine the qualifications of individuals to meet certain requirements, as has hitherto been the rule in WPA, NYA and other governmental agencies, in view of the fact that state manipulation, under this order, may still evade and make abortive the clear intention and desire of the President, our suggestion is that drastic Federal rules be adopted to establish general qualifications for all applicants.

We seriously object to the phrase of the order which states, "hereafter government contracts shall be let to such bidders as will sign agreements to provide employment, non-discriminative of individuals because of race, color or national origin." The President's order in our judgment should have said that all contractors holding *existing* contracts and those hereafter to be affected, shall be bound by the non-discriminatory decree of President Roosevelt.

We further suggest that the committee of five to be attached to the Office of Production Management, as provided by the President's order, shall have in its personnel at least three (3) Negroes.

Above all, we point out to the President and to all our fellow citizens that the decree fails completely to touch the matter of discrimination in the Armed Forces.

The Army and Navy, of which the President is Commander-in-Chief, are the biggest defense industries in the United States, yet the spirit of discrimination in these branches of government is notorious; and the very cabinet officers heading them, Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, and Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, are quoted publicly as defending and continuing this abuse of our citizenship. We urge the President to abolish, by executive order, the discriminatory practices in the armed forces of the nation.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

In view of the discriminations which have been heretofore referred to, we endorse the present MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE and its work.

MOB VIOLENCE AND LYNCHING

At the continuation of mob violence and lynching, Hitler may well laugh, while lovers of democracy weep.

For thirty-two years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has warned America against the dangers of unrestricted, and unpunished mob violence. We have sought in vain for Federal legislation against lynching, the most flagrant expression of mob violence. Whenever the anti-lynching bill is passed by the House of Representatives it is filibustered to death in the Senate.

This cowardice regarding the federal anti-lynching bill is in marked contrast to the promptness with which a federal anti-kidnapping bill was passed. As long as such discrimination continues, the people of America will be justified in believing that the federal government is eager to protect the wealthy and their children who are the victims of kidnapping, but is indifferent to the fate of the poor and lowly who furnish nearly all the victims of lynching mobs. That belief will not strengthen the defense of democracy.

BOB WHITE

The cold blooded murder of Bob White in the court room of Conroe, Texas, before the very eyes of the judge and court officials, after his two prior convictions had been reversed by the highest courts of the land, and the subsequent acquittal of his murderer after a trial of less than two minutes, shocks the conscience of civilized mankind.

Not only did that shot destroy the life of an innocent, defenseless, black American, but it killed the souls of myriads of impressionable children, and of thousands of adults who condoned it, and proclaimed to the world anew that American democracy, as it affects the Negro, is mythical. We condemn this murder and the violent and atrocious assault upon our judicial system and call upon the people and Governor of the State of Texas, the Department of Justice and the President of the United States to remove this foul blot from the national honor, by bringing the murderer to justice.

FELIX HALL

Another appalling example of mob violence that shocked Negro Americans who are now being called upon to defend democracy was the murder of Private Felix Hall, a volunteer, not a draftee, while in uniform and within the camp limits at Fort Benning, Georgia. After nearly three months of investigation, the War Department claims to be unable to find any clue to the murderer.

PRIMARIES

The Democratic white primary system, which permits the Democratic party in parts of the country where it is completely dominant, to exclude Negroes from its primary, is one method by which Negroes are effectively disfranchised. We demand its abolition.

The vicious and un-American poll tax system by which eight states effectively deprive several millions of American citizens of their franchise, is another method used to prevent Negroes from voting. This poll tax system hits the poverty stricken, both white and black, alike, but bears particularly heavily upon Negroes because of their economic situation. We call for passage of the bills which have been introduced in Congress against the poll tax and for Federal legislation regulating primaries.

FRANCHISE

We urge those living in the states in which all citizens vote, to use their voting power to the limit. Believing that direct-representation in all the legislative bodies of the nation and particularly in the Congress of the United States is the imperative need of today, we urge the support of capable Negro candidates for these offices.

HOUSING

Negroes, because so many employment opportunities are closed to them, and because of discrimination by landlords, suffer from deplorable housing in urban and rural areas alike.

We call upon Congress to take more vigorous steps to relieve this situation by appropriating more funds for housing and slum clearance, and by eliminating discrimination in all Federal housing facilities. We likewise oppose priority rights for employment being given to labor unions on housing or other Federal projects where such unions discriminate against citizens on account of race, creed or color.

We also pledge a determined fight to outlaw restrictive covenants by which Negroes are barred from living in certain districts. This is clearly an evasion of the Supreme Court's decision which invalidated the attempts of certain cities to set up legal restrictions on the residence of Negroes.

The right to live where one pleases is a fundamental part of our democratic rights.

HEALTH

The health examinations given to our youth for army service and other purposes have disclosed a shocking condition of poor health. We demand appropriate legislation such as the Wagner Health Bill now pending to provide adequate medical care for all our underprivileged fellow-citizens. This is an obvious step to strengthen the democracy for which we stand.

EDUCATION

A right to decent education for all is one of the cornerstones of democracy. We accordingly demand that discrimination in all tax-supported institutions, from the primary grades to the professional and graduate schools, be wiped out, and that equal pay for Negro and white teachers be established in accordance with recent decisions of the Federal courts.

WAGE AND HOUR LAWS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

We are in full accord with the principles of the Wage and Hour Law and the Social

Security legislation. But Negroes suffer especially from the fact that agricultural workers and domestic servants are excluded from the benefits of these laws because Negroes are engaged in these lines of work out of proportion to their numbers. We accordingly demand that Congress extend the benefits of these laws to include domestic and agricultural workers.

SHARECROPPERS AND TENANT FARMERS

We deplore the disadvantaged position of sharecroppers, tenant farmers and small farm owners, both black and white, in our nation today. The problems of these classes weigh especially heavily upon Negroes.

We note with approval, the excellent work of such groups as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union which for the first time has been able to convince a considerable number of the tenant farmers of the South that the economic position of whites and blacks is identical and that common action is necessary to alleviate their distress.

We urge that the Federal Government give full attention to the plight of these groups and that the program to remedy their economic and social conditions be continued and expanded.

LABOR UNIONS

The N.A.A.C.P. believes that labor unions are a necessary and valuable method by which workers of any race or color can protect themselves against exploitation by the owners of industry, and can gain a higher standard of living and greater leisure in keeping with the increased output made possible by modern machine production.

We condemn the efforts of reactionary members of Congress to utilize the present emergency to emasculate the Wages and Hours Act, the National Labor Relations Act and other Acts of Congress designed to protect industrial workers in their rights to bargain collectively and to secure and maintain decent wages, hours, and working conditions.

We endorse wholeheartedly the efforts of Negro trade unionists to gain for Negroes full integration into labor unions. We urge Negroes to join unions wherever possible, so as to strengthen the hands of those inside the labor movement who are trying to remove the color bar wherever it still exists.

We applaud the slow but steady growth of consciousness of American workers towards the realization that white labor will never be free until all labor is free. We deplore and condemn the continued shortsightedness, however, of some labor unions such as the Railroad Brotherhoods and certain other craft unions which by constitutional provision, ritualistic practice or other means, bar workers from membership because of race, creed or color.

We call upon Congress to enact an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act which would prohibit any union which habitually discriminates in this fashion, after January 1, 1942, from being designated as the sole bargaining agency in any given industry. Labor unions which ask that they be not discriminated against must come into court with clean hands.

SENATOR BYRNES' APPOINTMENT

In the recent appointment of Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina to the United States supreme court the colored people of the nation have been grievously disappointed. They recognize the fact that our President has the right and it is his duty to make appointments of persons representing all sections of the nation, including the South, provided that the person so appointed not only preach but practice democracy.

But the appointment of Senator Byrnes, whose entire record as a member of Congress and of the Senate shows him to be opposed to the integration of Negro citizens into our democratic order, is, in our judgment, a negation of the very principles upon which this country is based. Senator Byrnes believes that democracy does not include the Negro people; by his performance in office, he sees America as a white man's country—not as a nation of many racial minority groups to whom alike all benefits and blessings should be accorded.

This appointment is particularly unfortunate at this crucial period in the life of our nation. Now our government and practically all of its people actively support the struggle for the preservation of freedom in its last ditch fight against Nazism. In such a struggle we must make every effort to strengthen and extend democracy for all the people at home. We feel, however, that the appointment of Senator Byrnes does not add strength to our fight for democracy, but gives aid and support to those forces inimicable to it. Notwithstanding our protest, we trust that the new Justice from South Carolina will rise to the heights of judicial statesmanship recently attained by that great southern liberal, Mr. Justice Black.

REGRETS

Notwithstanding our feeling of joy over the most pleasant and successful meetings that we have had at this our 32nd Annual Conference, it has nevertheless been tinged with sadness because of the absence of three faces that have graced most of our former sessions.

The first is that of one of our founders, Miss Mary White Ovington, who is detained in New England, but who has sent us a telegram of encouragement; also of our distinguished President, Arthur B. Spingarn, and our National Board Chairman, Dr. Louis T. Wright, both of whom are also detained at home by illness.

We, hereby express our deep regret at their inability to be present and our hopes that they shall soon be sufficiently improved in health that they shall be able to be with us in person.

We mourn the passing of Dr. Charles Edward Russell, one of the founders, who died April 23rd. He gave militant inspiration to our work from the very beginning. This Association could not meet in Houston without paying its respects to that valiant and courageous leader C. F. Richardson, former President of the Texas State Conference of Branches.

APPRECIATION

Whereas the officers and members of the Houston branch, the officers and members of Good Hope Baptist church, Bee Bee Tabernacle C. M. E. Church, and The Negro Chamber of Commerce, the public press, the International Longshoresmen, the Boy Scouts of America and the good citizens of Houston, Galveston, and Texas in general have all co-operated to give us the finest entertainment we have yet received in any city, be it therefore resolved: That we hereby express to each and all of them our heartfelt appreciation and pray God's richest blessings upon them.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla., Chairman.
S. Joe Brown, Des Moines, Iowa.
William H. Hastie, Washington, D. C.
John Hammond, New York City.
Alfred Baker Lewis, New York City.
Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, New York City.
T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.
A. Philip Randolph, New York City.
Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis, Mo.
Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia, Pa.
L. Pearl Mitchell, Cleveland, O.
Lucinda Jacobs, Chester, Pa.
W. W. Wimbush, Baton Rouge, La.
Oliver W. Hill, Richmond, Va.
F. A. Dunn, St. Petersburg, Fla.
A. W. Jackson, Houston, Texas.
Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore, Maryland.
Nathaniel A. Evans, St. Paul, Minn.
Luke Fennell, Detroit, Mich.
Rev. David D. Mattocks, Sacramento, Calif.
Elmer Henderson, Chicago, Illinois.
Rev. Elias S. Hardge, Jersey City, N. J.
Dr. H. W. Williamston, Idabel, Okla.
Fred Roberts, Los Angeles, Calif.
Carrie Taylor, Atlanta, Ga.
Eardlie John, New York City.
Rev. B. B. Evans, Knoxville, Tenn.
Prince Clark, Detroit, Mich.
Ray Guild, Boston, Mass.
Bessie S. Etherly, Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Leon R. Harris, Moline, Ill.
Alverta Gray, Hempstead, New York.
J. C. Kahn, Pine Bluff, Ark.
G. F. Porter, Dallas, Texas.
W. A. J. Bullock, Chickasha, Okla.
C. C. Taylor, New Orleans, La.
Eugene Hall, Detroit, Mich.

The youth section of the conference adopted

"You Gotta Stop 'Em To Sell 'Em!"

Size 7 x 10

Some folks use a cardboard Calendar. Others use metal. But however you go after prospects, "YOU GOTTA STOP 'EM TO SELL 'EM."

Take your type of Calendar for instance. It may carry a humdinger of a message. But it won't sell your product unless it stops your prospects at a glance and makes them say "HERE'S SOMETHING WORTH LOOKING INTO."

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resolutions demanding equality in education, and condemning the poll tax, the white primary, and other devices for disfranchisement. These resolutions, which were duplicates of those adopted by the senior conference, were also adopted at the final session June 28.

The youth section also made certain recommendations on the administration of youth work.

Medal to Sgt. Baker

The War Department has announced the citation for award of the Soldier's Medal for heroism to Sergeant Samuel F. Baker, Company F, 25th Infantry, United States Army.

The official citation reads in part: "For heroism displayed during a fire in the truck greasing building of a Construction Company at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, January 16, 1941."

Sergeant Baker was born on May 6, 1895, in Nashville, Tennessee. He enlisted in Company "L", 25th Infantry, in Hawaii on March 3, 1913. He has eight honorable discharges from the United States Army, all of which bear the character of "Excellent." He is serving at present with the Headquarters Detachment, Second Battalion, 25th Infantry.

Protest Arrest of West Indian Leader

A resolution of protest against the arrest of W. A. Domingo was adopted at a mass meeting sponsored in Harlem. July 14, by the West Indies National Council and the Jamaica Progressive League.

Mr. Domingo, president of the West Indies National Council, with headquarters in Harlem, was arrested on June 18 on board the S.S. Veragua before the boat docked in his native city of Jamaica, British West Indies. Information is that Mr. Domingo is being held in a concentration camp.

A cablegram of protest was sent Sir Arthur Richards, governor of Jamaica, by the New York organization, as soon as word was received of Mr. Domingo's arrest. Both the cablegram and the resolution adopted July 14 ascribed Domingo's arrest to his advocacy of self-government for Caribbean peoples. The resolution recited the arrest and internment of other West Indian leaders who have dared to protest against conditions in the islands.

Name Three Regional Advisors to U.S.H.A.

Appointment of racial relations advisers to three of the regional offices of the United States Housing Authority was announced July 16 by Administrator Nathan Straus. Representing the Office of Racial Relations, headed by Dr. Frank S. Horne, Acting Special Assistant to the Administrator, the new employees will advise and assist the regional directors in carrying out USHA racial policies in the field.

The appointees are William E. Hill of Pittsburgh, Henry Lee Moon of New York, and Herman A. Washington of New Orleans. J. Arthur Weiseger of Seattle, Washington, was appointed Associate Racial Relations Adviser to work in the central office.

Negro Architect Appointed

Federal Works Administrator John M. Carmody has announced the appointment of Hilyard R. Robinson, of Washington, D. C., as consultant architect to design the 250-unit defense housing project to be built by the Public Buildings Administration at Sparrows Point, Maryland. He will render complete architectural service up to the point of construction, including development of site plan and the design of dwellings and utilities. This project will house the families of workers employed at the Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard.

Mr. Robinson has had wide experience in designing housing projects, having been the architect for the Langston Terrace housing project at Washington, D. C. He also designed the Frederick Douglass Dwellings, a 313-unit project developed by the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Authority with the financial assistance of the United States Housing Authority. Other developments designed by Mr. Robinson include the new Tuskegee Airport and Cooke Hall, Men's Dormitory at Howard University.

500,000 Negro Children to Receive Free Lunches

Well over a half million Negro school children will receive nutritious noonday meals throughout the coming school year, the Department of Agriculture estimated this week. School officials, teachers, parents, federal authorities and others are aiding in the development of this nation-wide lunch program.

Last year nearly 450,000 Negro children were served lunches at school by local community groups which are working together to bring malnourished youngsters the body-building meals they so badly need for health, strength and classroom effort.

Some of the food for the lunches is supplied by the communities themselves. The remainder is furnished by the Surplus Marketing Administration of the Department of Agriculture to schools certified by state and local welfare officials. Foods purchased by SMA for lunches include cereals, vegetables, fresh and dried fruits and other items. By buying these products SMA broadens markets for the farmer. Schools interested in the program should contact the local welfare agency.

In addition to the regular lunches more than 100,000 Negro school children will receive daily a half pint of milk for a penny under a special milk program which has recently been expanded by Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard. During the 1940-41 school year the penny milk program was operated in New York, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, Birmingham, Alabama; Omaha, Nebraska; Ogden, Utah; and Lowell-Lawrence, Massachusetts. It is expected to reach other cities this fall.

The Surplus Marketing Administration makes this program possible by paying the difference between the penny charged the child and the total cost of the milk. Farmers, dairies, school authorities and the Federal Government are cooperating in this program to build stronger young Americans.

News From the Empire

First African Rhodes Scholar

The Trustees of the Rhodes Scholarship Fund have awarded a scholarship to Dr. K. A. Obayomi, of Lagos, Nigeria, the first person of African race to be awarded a Rhodes scholarship.

Dr. Obayomi is a Nigerian who qualified in medicine at Edinburgh University and returned to his native land and practiced his profession in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. Early in this year he came to England and is pursuing a post-graduate course of study in optics, at the Moorfield hospital for Eyes in London.

Besides attending to a very extensive medical practice in Lagos, Dr. Obayomi finds time to take part in the politics of his country. He is one of the elected unofficial members of the Legislative Council of Nigeria for the town of Lagos.

Color Bar

On June 25 Mr. Edmund Harvey asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the effect of color bar restrictions in Nairobi in preventing West African troops, serving in the Forces there, from entering private cinemas; and whether steps can be taken by ordinance, or otherwise, to remove this color bar discrimination?

Mr. George Hall: There is no gen-

eral restriction on the entry of West African troops into private cinemas in Nairobi. Some films are, however, passed by the Film Censorship Board for exhibition to non-Africans only, in accordance with the Cinematograph Film Censorship Rules, 1930, which were passed because it was considered that certain films are not suitable for exhibition to African audiences. My Noble Friend is in communication with the Governor of Kenya, from whom further details are awaited.

No "Recognition" for Selassie

In Parliament on May 14 Mr. Mander asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the official entry of the Emperor Haile Selassie to his capital, it is now proposed to extend to him full recognition with appropriate diplomatic status and representation?

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Eden): While all aspects of our relations with Ethiopia are being carefully considered, military operations in that country are still in progress, and I have therefore nothing at present to add to the statement of policy which I made on February 4th. Hon. Members will have read with gratification the exchange of messages between the Prime Minister and the Emperor of Ethiopia on the occasion of the entry of the Emperor into Addis Ababa.

Mr. Mander: In view of the messages addressed to His Majesty Haile Selassie, surely, it is not possible any longer to speak of him as merely having a claim to the throne. He is well seated upon it.

Mr. Eden: I think I made the position clear last February, when I pointed out that while military operations are going on in Abyssinia *parts of the country will require temporary measures of military guidance and control.*

Revels in Western Australia

Particulars have been received from a trusted correspondent in Western Australia of the alleged murder of an aboriginal on the borders of the Northern Territory and of South Australia early in this year. According to the evidence, the accused, one of whom was the owner of a Station, and the other his overseer, kicked the native in the ribs, struck him on the head with a pistol and rifle butt, and then having bound the man, looping one end of a piece of wire round his neck and attaching the other end to the tailboard of a truck, drove it a distance of 600 yards. Deceased first ran and then fell and was dragged. When the car stopped, the accused cut the wire and told the other aboriginal to bury the man's body as he was then dead. The constable exhumed the body and brought the head which, with certain other exhibits, were shown in the Court at Alice Springs.

Evidence was given that the two accused men bore a high character, and their Counsel frankly said that "no Jury would convict on these aborigines' evidence." The two aboriginal witnesses had difficulty in conveying their story to the Court through an interpreter, but in the main their evidence accorded with that of the arresting constable.

No Native Representation

On June 18 Captain John Dugdale asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the magnificent war effort that is being made by our Colonial Empire, he will consider the appointment from among the native inhabitants of each of our larger Colonies of a High Commissioner to Great Britain?

Mr. George Hall: My Noble Friend fully appreciates the war effort made by the Colonial Empire, but he does not think that any advantage would be gained by adopting the course suggested in the Question.

White Man's "Burden"!

The money gifts which have been made, or promised, by the British dependencies, as contributions to the war effort from their own revenue or reserves follows: Bahamas, £22,000; Barbados, £125,000; Bermuda, £85,000; Ceylon, £377,625; Cyprus, £1,000; Falkland Islands, £50,000; Gold Coast, £108,000; Grenada, £15,000; Hong Kong, £775,000; Kenya-Uganda Railways and Harbours Administration, £550,000; St. Kitts, £10,000; Straits Settlements, £5,296,248; Federated Malay States, £4,263,020; Unfederated Malay States, £404,076; Mauritius, £190,250; Nigeria, £100,000; North Borneo, £5,000; Northern Rhodesia, £438,000; Nyasaland, £117,000; Sarawak, £291,665; Seychelles, £3,550; Sierra Leone, £100,500; Tanganyika Territory, £200,000; Tonga, £5,000; Trinidad, £625,000; Uganda, £175,100; Zanzibar, £20,000. Total, £14,353,034.

Return to the Inn

(*Continued from page* 288)

As the leader and his men started from their table the waiter came back, walking behind the proprietor who had the gold coins examining them, curiously. He was an old mulatto, with snow-white hair; his withered skin sagged as though his face was without adequate muscles.

When he came abreast of the soldiers, he began to stare, questioningly, first at their leader, then at the gold coins.

"Who is this who handles gold so extravagantly in times like these?" he asked.

"Is it not good gold?" the leader asked. He was irritated at the thought of being questioned.

"Good? Yes," the proprietor said, "but almost unbelievable. There are few people in Haiti who can afford to handle gold in such manner, in these times, and those few people do not dine at this inn. I am almost tempted to believe that you are an imposter."

"Imposter!" he shouted, protestingly.

The soldiers around him glared at the old man with so much disfavor that he began to feel uneasy.

"But what else can I believe?" the old man continued, observing the leader closer. "Your uniform is the most splendid I have seen since the days of the great Toussaint. It is not the custom of people who can dress in such fashion to dine in this inn."

The old man's reference to Toussaint appeased the leader. He spoke again, more cordially.

"You knew Toussaint L'Ouverture?" he asked.

"I remember speaking to him twice," the old man said, proudly. He paused, then spoke again, in an entirely different tone. "I remember the sad day the French soldiers took him away."

There was a short silence, then the leader spoke firmly, almost at the point of rage.

"May Napoleon Bonaparte's soul rot in hell for that foul deed!"

The proprietor was startled.

"Did you know him also?" he asked, eagerly.

"I knew him well," the leader said. "He was the greatest friend I have ever had and the greatest man I have ever known. He honored the ground he walked on."

The old man looked at the gold coins and began to observe the leader's uniform again.

"But you . . .?" he said. "Who are you?"

The leader's face tightened. He stared, impatiently, at the proprietor, then paused as if to formulate his next words.

"Many years ago," he said, finally, "I was a stable boy and, later, a waiter, at this inn. . . ."

The proprietor's mouth opened wide.

"But—" he stammered, "But this man who stands before me, now—who is he?"

"The years have taken the best of your eyesight, old man," the leader said, calmly. "That alone saves you from a serious reprimand: you are addressing —Henri Christophe, King of Haiti!"

Book Reviews

THESE WERE MY FOREBEARS

***A PIONEER EDITOR IN EARLY IOWA:* A Sketch of the Life of Edward Russell. By his son Charles Edward Russell. Washington: Ransdell, Inc., Publishers, 1941. 78 pp.**

This is the last of the some twenty odd books written by one of America's great liberal editors, the late Charles Edward Russell. As city editor of the New York *World*, managing editor of the New York *American*, and sometime publisher of the Chicago *American*, Mr. Russell was of the tradition of great liberal editors such as Godkin and Villard. Mr. Russell always gave single-hearted allegiance to what he regarded as right and just, and he was absolutely in earnest and sincere to the soul in whatever he advocated. He did not believe in compromise with wrong. He was also one of the three original founders of the NAACP and a strong champion of Negro rights. He once castigated me in a private letter for what he regarded as my too lenient criticism of a pro-southern book on the slavery controversy. This large humanity and unbounded charity of Mr. Russell was a direct inheritance from his forebears. And reading *A Pioneer Editor in Early Iowa* tells us much about Mr. Russell's father and even more about his illustrious son.

The Russells came originally from England. The great grandfather, one of the "horny-handed progenitors," was a bricklayer who "lived and worked at Hammersmith, a far western suburb of London." His son William was a wherryman of the Thames at first; then later a clerk in a distillery. Attending a temperance rally at Exter Hall William realized that he was engaged in the distribution of a commodity which was a sin. "It was characteristic of him to put his convictions ahead of his material interests." So he gave up his job.

Of William Russell's four sons, the second, Edward, is the subject of this sketch. Grandfather Russell had in the meantime become a temperance lecturer and a close friend of the Rev. William Rutledge. "About 1842 Elder Rutledge and his family emigrated to the United States, whence he wrote often to William Russell, urging him to seek an opening in the new country." William Russell finally emigrated to the States, eventually settling in the bustling little town of LeClaire, Iowa. "Edward was apprenticed to a carpenter and became a master hand at the trade with a side line in architecture and designing." All the Russells had by this time become hot Abolitionists. "Most of all, Edward Russell was infected with the protagonist's zeal for this reform. He had supplemented his educational opportunities with wide reading and attendance at a night school. The more he read about and considered the American slave system the more insufferable it seemed. He began to feel an impulse to write about it."

"There was published at that time in Washington an influential Abolitionist weekly called *The National Era*. The tribe of Russell took it and read it eagerly. So Edward Russell wrote out some views about slavery that had been long maturing in his mind, sent the result to the Washington editor, and was as much astonished as gratified to find it prominently published. That started him off. He became a regular contributor to the *Era*, wrote articles for the local weekly, the *LeClaire Express*, and began to gather fame as an effective champion of the anti-slavery cause."

This was the beginning of Edward Russell's work as editor and Abolitionist. Nor was it altogether easy for an outspoken man to be an Abolitionist even in Iowa. And the son makes the reason for this quite clear. The hypocritical righteousness of the slave cause was based on the profit motive, "the only valid reason for the vitality of the system." "The great slave plantations of the lower river drew their supplies largely from Iowa and Illinois farms and a great Interest had grown up in the shipping and handling of these supplies. When one spoke against slavery one was speaking against the source from which the river population drew its prosperity; you were attacking your own daily bread; and more than one influential and enraged business leader withdrew from Elder Rutledge's ministrations because from his pulpit he denounced the theory that any of God's children could rightfully enslave the rest."

Edward Russell finally accepted the position of editor on the *LeClaire Express;* he later moved to Davenport, Iowa, to the job of assistant county recorder and became a contributor to the *Davenport Gazette*. Some of his most stinging anti-slavery appeals were written for this paper. But these appeals did not endear him to either his fellow townsmen or southern slaveholders and slavery sympathizers. His life was at times in actual jeopardy. "The whole pro-slavery element of Davenport was aroused against him by his continual assaults upon their favorite institution and its supporters, but not for all the ruffianism that followed should these of his fellow townsmen be deemed responsible." "The burden of the complaint against the *Gazette* was that it was injuring the town. Southern trade upon which Davenport depended, would steer away from any place where the doctrine of Black Republicanism was openly preached. The actualities of the damage thus inflicted were always open to doubt, since the town continued to grow and flourish, but if the *Gazette* was abhorred to the south of us it gained prestige elsewhere. It had come to be rated as one of the outstanding anti-slavery journals of the country and its editor to have the friendship and respect of all the Abolitionist leaders."

Out of Edward Russell's fight against the slave institution stemmed his later fight against the corporations. His practical insight into facts made him a formidable antagonist in his fight against the Interests. In the end he found himself sacrificed to the corporation interests. This part of the story, however, really lies within the beginning of that great muckraking era in which Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and others, were such outstanding figures.

Edward Russell was a "good citizen, a soldier of liberty, a hater of wrong and injustice, a friend of the oppressed." No son could have a greater heritage than this.

REALISTIC AMERICAN HISTORY

***AMERICA: LAND OF ACHIEVEMENT*. By Sisters of Mercy, Brooklyn Community. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1941. X+554pp. Illustrated with drawings. [No price given.]**

A combination history and civics designed for the American grade schools, but written, despite its "complete devotion to facts," as the Foreword states, from the point of view of Catholic hermeneutics. Yet the religious "cord throughout" does not in any way impair the book's objectivity. Actually this approach is very refreshing after a surfeit of materialistic interpretation and an overemphasis on the current ideologies. And unlike most history texts this one gives proper proportion to the role and significance of the Negro in American life. The book begins with the era of Reconstruction in the South and the manner in which an author handles this controversial period is a good test of his fairness and his objectivity. Here our authors come off with flying colors. They are fair to both the Negro and the South. They likewise devote a section to Booker T. Washington (with a sketch of Washington adorning the page) and "Dr. Carver, Negro Scientist." Negro education is discussed as well as the relation of the Catholic Church to the Negro. Mention is also made of the fact that the first school for colored people in the United States was opened in Newark, N. J., "through the generosity of the great Polish patriot, Kosciusko." Note is also taken of the Josephite Fathers founded in Mill Hill, London, to "train priests for the Negro missions."

I mention these references to the Negro because the way in which an American handles the Negro in a book is usually an acid test of both his fairness and his objectivity. The book is just as fair and just as objective in its presentation of the other controversial and seldom mentioned facts of American history and achievement. Labor struggles, strikes, the agricultural problem, foreign affairs, the New Deal, religion, arts and literature are all handled in the same impartial manner. If the standard American history texts were as openminded and fair, a new day would soon dawn in the American school.

JAMES W. IVY

On Hallowed Ground

(Continued from Page 286)

men of Rochester's early Four Hundred. Law-breakers, indeed, but men and women of righteouness, of a sense of justice and of indignation. Without thought of their own safety, they had willingly conspired against the Federal Government, to operate the "Underground Railroad," of which Rochester was one of the chief stations; to spirit fugitive slaves from the South to freedom in Canada.

That section of the Underground railroad has been referred to by writers as the "Pittsford Line." Slaves were brought from that quiet village to Rochester's East Avenue and Monroe Avenue sections and to Frederick Douglass' home in Pinnacle Hills, two miles south of the city. The "switchmen" on the Underground who received fugitives from adjacent "stations" hid them in their homes and sped them on to others.

Frederick Douglass, whom one historian called the "most distinguished man that had ever lived in Rochester," was the silent sufferer in slavery's Garden of Gethsemane. Up and down throughout the country, seeking funds and giving all that he had, he aided his brother sufferers. His home, first at 4 Alexander street, and later at 1023 South avenue (Pinnacle Hills) as well as the office of his paper, the "North Star," at

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Charles Edward Russell

(Continued from Page 283)

day life that one need not have a gap between his ideals and his practical work, and further that our fight for racial equality in America is just a section of a huge, endless war that must always go on, at all places, at all times, for liberation of the beaten down and stepped on, whether nation, race, class, struggling group, or person,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that, we of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, hereby award to him our deepest gratitude, and to his memory our never ending praise. We RESOLVE FURTHER THAT we make public expression of our debt of gratitude, so that men everywhere in these confusing times may know of CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL'S example and may somehow pick up and carry on the torch of greatness which he carried for eighty years.

CHARLES HERBERT MARSHALL, JR., *President*

JOHN LOVELL, JR., *Secretary*

District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

By Interracial Committee of the District of Columbia

WHEREAS, DR. CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL has passed to the Great Beyond, and left us with a sense of irreparable loss, unique and burning, greatly accentuated by our realization that he is so much needed in our world at such a time as this, and

WHEREAS, he was unrelenting in his efforts for racial understanding based upon the equality of all people in society, before the law, and in the vast arena of the human heart, and

WHEREAS, in spite of a busy career in which he achieved real greatness, he was tireless in translating his dream of the equality of white and black into powerful, living actions which inspired beyond words those of us who were privileged to quest with him for the more perfect society, and met a deep and respectful response from the forces which he fought, resulting in an atmosphere irresistibly uplifting, and

WHEREAS, as our President and devout leader, he gave time, money, the best at his command, and energy to the point of gravest sacrifice, in the solving of the problems, from which we, not he, were the chief beneficiary, willingly accepting great risks, personal scorn and dislike, and consistently urging and inspiring us to the spirit of resistance to tyranny which is the hope of the civilized world, and

WHEREAS, he taught us above all, that the removal of racial barriers was the destruction of just one of the chains which enslaved humanity, and always magnetized us to make the destruction of every form of slavery, oppression, and imperialism of man over man a cornerstone of our personal lives,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Interracial Committee of the District of Columbia, which owes its life and chief efforts to Charles Edward Russell, do hereby declare that his untimely passing has so challenged and moved us, that we are unutterably grateful for having had him with us all these years.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That we rededicate ourselves to the practical establishment of those principles for which literally he gave his long and useful life; and that we determine, separately and jointly, not to rest until his ideas and ideals of justice are a part of the daily working of the District and of our Nation. Knowing his life as we did, and feeling the dynamic of his crusading spirit, we say of him in the language of the poet:

"Thy day has come, not gone;
Thy sun has risen, not set;
Thy life is now beyond the reach of death or change,
Not ended, but begun.
O, noble soul! O, gentle heart!
Hail, and farewell."

RESOLVED FINALLY, that we give a copy of these resolutions to the family and to the public through the press.

R. W. BROOKS,
JAMES A. COBB,
JEROME OSBORNE,
JOHN LOVELL, JR.

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LEGAL DIRECTORY

Responding to frequent inquiries. THE CRISIS carries herewith the names and addresses with telephone numbers of some of the 1300 colored attorneys in the United States, purely as a service to those seeking such information. THE CRISIS does not maintain a legal bureau, as many readers seem to think, and the N.A.A.C.P. concerns itself only with cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights. Lawyers whose names do not appear below are requested to write to THE CRISIS.

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On Hallowed Ground

(*Continued from page* 300)

25 Buffalo street (Main street) in the old Wilder building, and the basement of the African Methodist Episcopal church at Spring and Favor streets, were always open to runaway slaves seeking a place to hide. Beside all these activities, he visited nearby towns on lecture tours, never missing an opportunity to strike a blow for freedom. Douglass was associated in this work with such stalwarts as Harriet Tubman, Rev. Samuel May, Myron Halley, Julia Griffiths and scores of others. The Underground had many branches, but that one with which Douglass was connected had its main stations in Baltimore, Wilmington, Philadelphia, New York City, Albany, Petersboro, Troy, Syracuse, Auburn, Rochester and St. Catherines, Canada.

J. P. Morris and Douglass received and dispatched fugitive slaves from Rochester to Canada where they were received by Rev. Hiram Wilson. Douglass said years later—"We seldom called in vain upon Whig or Democrat for help."

The story of Douglass' life and efforts was made possible by the unswerving loyalty of his wife, Anna Murray Douglass, to whose memory we pay tribute. For it was Anna Murray who stood like a sentinel in the doorway of the Douglass home with arms outstretched, watching over the distant fields for the panting fugitive, the weary traveler, the lonely emigrant of every clime to give him succor, food and shelter. From the pen of Mrs. Fredericka Douglass Perry, grand-daughter of Douglass, we read these words: "Too often are the facts of great sacrifices and heroic efforts of the wives of renowned men overshadowed by the achievements of the men; the wonderful and beautiful part she played so well is overlooked."

Years later, Professor Peter H. Clark of Cincinnati, Ohio wrote: "The kind treatment given us and our little one so many years ago won for her a place in our hearts from which no lapse of time could move her. To us, she was ever kind and good and our mourning because of her death, is heartfelt."

And so we have the narrative of a great struggle which took place on this now hallowed ground—a struggle that drew together fair-minded men and women of both races; that played a large part in hastening the Civil War, the final complete liberation of the thousands of black men, women and children who were the chattel of a small white minority and the down-fall of a system which even today is a dark blot on the pages of American History.

The Ford Contract

(*Continued from Page* 285)

Ford empire. The victory of organized labor was inevitable from the start. Those who abhorred the union have now lost their rancor and the cause of the worker has crossed the color line. We believe in Detroit that the beginnings of a new era in race relations will be found in the countless union halls of this major industry. White and black workers are learning fast that they need each other if they are to achieve the ends for which they were organized.

Within the framework of industrial unionism there is an opportunity for the kind of democracy that gives status to all regardless of color or national origin. The Ford plant with its thousands of Negro workers will be something of a test case for the CIO and the future of our workers in the ranks of organized labor in America will be determined by the developments at River Rouge. I believe that there are grounds for optimism and we must now make certain that our workers take advantage of these new found opportunities. We cannot afford "to miss the Bus".

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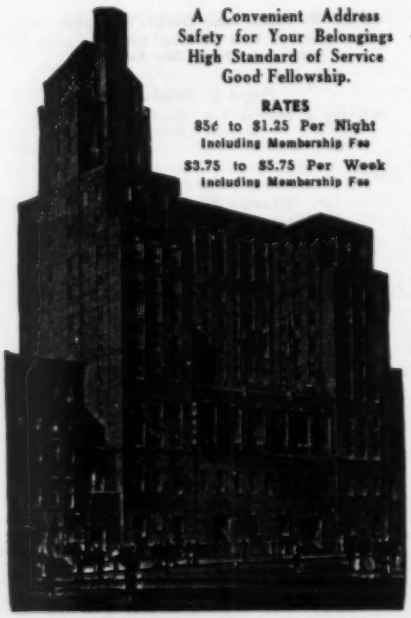

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